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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT;

3504

CONTAINING

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE AUTHORITY, INTERPRETATION, AND INTEGRITY OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS, WITH REFERENCE TO THE LATEST INQUIRIES.

BY

SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND LL.D.

59223

VOLUME II.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES TO THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Πολλαι μεν θνητοις Γλωτται, μια δ'Αθανατοισιν.

E.e.6

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SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS;

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M.DCCC.XLIX.

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TO THE

THEOLOGICAL FACULTY

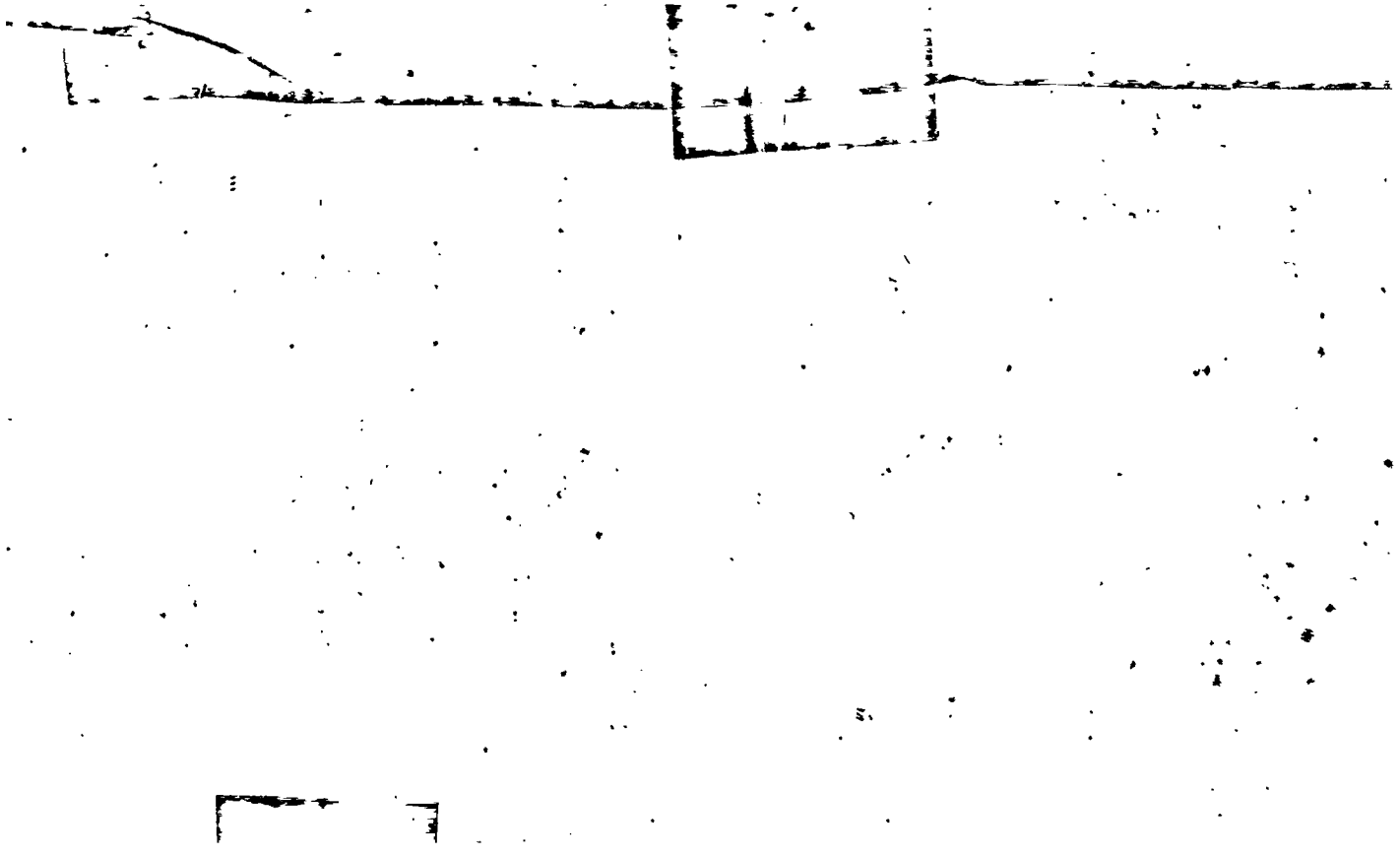
OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF HALLE,

AS A MARK OF GRATITUDE

FROM

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

THE Author deems it unnecessary to say more than a few words by way of preface to the present volume. He has endeavoured to keep steadily in view the same principles and object which were followed in examining the Gospels. He has aimed at writing what is properly meant by *Introduction*, looking at those recent investigations which the books of the New Testament have received from numerous inquirers and critics. Grateful for the favour extended to the first volume, not only in Great Britain but in North America and Germany, he has laboured to make the present one more worthy of the approbation of competent scholars. It is very difficult, however, to do full justice to the writings of the Apostle Paul; and it need not surprise any one, as it will not surprise the Author himself, if it be found that some particulars in the present epistles which should have been noticed are passed by. He has *intentionally* overlooked no source of information with which he is acquainted, English or foreign; and if he has not everywhere chosen to

specify each one, it should be recollected that he had to exercise his own judgment in mentioning *the most important*, and such as are *least known* to general readers. To have referred to *all*, would have been a useless labour—useless to the reader, and fruitlessly irksome to the Author.

The Writer deeply regrets the delay which has occurred in the publication of the volume. For about two months, the printers were compelled to pause after more than three hundred pages had been worked off, owing to severe domestic affliction which unfitted the Author for every kind of employment. He had to watch by the bed of a dying son, who gave flattering promise of preeminence in literature.[a] But the rich consolations with which the Pauline epistles abound enabled him to bear up and look onward; and though he had to resume his pen with a sorrowful heart, for the purpose of completing the volume, he trusts that the practical power of Christianity was not lost sight of amid the theoretical considerations to which his mind had to be directed. He considers it a providential circumstance that he was studying the writings of an inspired apostle, fitted, above all others, to sustain the mind amid the melancholy changes of an uncertain world.

[a] The Author alludes to his eldest son, Andrew K. Davidson, who, after a lingering illness, departed on the fourteenth of June, in the twelfth year of his age, to be for ever with the Lord.

The articles on the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and the first epistle to the Corinthians, were inserted in the "Eclectic Review," during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846. They are now reprinted with the permission of the able editor of that excellent review, in a corrected, enlarged, and much improved form.

It was hoped that the Pastoral Epistles might have been inserted in the present volume. But it was subsequently discovered that they could not occupy a place in it without increasing the size considerably beyond that of the first volume. After some hesitation about the propriety of inserting the first epistle to Timothy alone, reserving the second to the next volume, the Author decided against the step, because it would have been awkward and inconvenient to have divided epistles so intimately connected that they must be examined with constant reference to one another.

Another volume will finish the entire work. But the Author cannot promise that it will follow the present, as soon as the present follows the first. He has made comparatively little preparation for it, and must therefore crave more time; especially as very difficult portions of the sacred writings will come under review. That he has been spared to send forth the present volume, is cause of thanksgiving to God; and if any light be

afforded by it to the serious inquirer, if any means of confirming and settling his faith be furnished, or if the revealed word of the Most High has been made clearer to the intelligent student, the Author will have abundant reason for gratitude to *the Source* of all truth.

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE,
Manchester, August, 1849.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

THE last book in the historical division of the New Testament is that called *the Acts of the Apostles*, in treating of which we propose to discuss the following topics:—

I. THE AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCES.
II. THE CREDIBILITY.
III. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.
IV. GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY.
V. THE WRITER'S LEADING OBJECT.
VI. PLAN OF THE WORK.
VII. CHRONOLOGY.
VIII. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.
IX. CONTENTS.

I. Authorship and Sources.

The writing of the history has been very generally assigned to Luke the Evangelist. The testimonies in favour of the Gospel's authenticity prove that of the Acts at the same time, because both form part of one work. Hence it is unnecessary to dwell on the external evidence which assigns the composition of the present book to Luke.

Irenaeus expressly attributes the composition to Luke, as the following quotations from his writings testify:—

"Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paullo, et cooperarius ejus in Evangelio, ipse fecit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsâ productus veritate. Separatis enim, inquit, a Paullo et Barnaba, et Joanne, qui vocabatur Marcus, et quum navigassent Cyprum, *nos venimus in Troadem* (Acts xv. 39): et quum vidisset Paullus per somnium virum Macedonem, dicentem: *Veniens in Macedoniam opitulare nobis, Paulle, statim ait, quaesivimus proficisci in Macedoniam, intelligentes, quoniam provocavit nos Dominus evangelizare eis. Navigantes igitur a Troade, direximus navigium in Samothracen* (Acts xvi. 8, seq.): et deinceps reliquum omnem ipsorum usque ad Philippos adventum diligenter significat, et quemadmodum primum sermonem loquuti sunt: *Sedentes enim*, inquit, *loquuti sumus mulieribus quae convenerant* (v. 13); et quinam crediderunt, et quam multi. Et iterum ait: *Nos autem navigavimus post dies azymorum a Philippis, et venimus Troadem, ubi et commorati sumus diebus septem* (Acts xx. 6). Et reliqua omnia ex ordine cum Paullo refert," etc.[a]

"And that Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his fellow-worker in the Gospel, he himself shews; not indeed boasting of it, but impelled by truth itself. For, says he, when Barnabas and John, who was called Mark, separated from Paul, and they had sailed to Cyprus, we came to Troas (Acts xv. 39): and when Paul had seen in a dream a man of Macedonia, saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us, Paul; immediately, says he, we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel to them: therefore, loosing from Troas, we came in a straight course to Samothracia (Acts xvi. 8, seq.). And then he carefully relates all the rest of their course till they arrived at Philippi, and how they spoke their first discourse. And we sat down, says he, and spake to the women that resorted thither (v. 13); and who believed, and how many. And again, he says: And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came to Troas, where we abode

[a] Advers. Haeres. lib. iii. c. 14. § 1.

seven days (Acts xx. 6). And all the other things he relates in order while he was with Paul," etc.

Clement of Alexandria also attributes the Acts to Luke:—*Καθὸ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα· ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. τ. λ.*[b] "As Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, records Paul to have said: Ye men of Athens," etc.

To the same effect Tertullian writes:—"Porro cum in eodem commentario Lucae, et tertia hora orationis," etc.[c] "Moreover, since in the same commentary of Luke," etc.

Eusebius writes:—*Λουκᾶς δὲ . . . . . ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις καταλέλοιπε βιβλίοις· τῷ δὲ εὐαγγελίῳ . . . . . καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν, κ. τ. λ.*[d] "Luke has left us two inspired volumes, viz. the Gospel and the Acts," etc.

So also Jerome, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, expressly attributes the history to Luke.

Agreeably to this very ancient testimony, the inscription and appendix of many MSS. name Luke as the author of the Acts.

The Catholic Church always attributed the composition to Luke, and consequently received the book into the canon as one of the *ὁμολογούμενα*. That it was rejected by the Manichaeans, as Augustine informs us, and by the Severians, as Eusebius relates, is of no consequence, since both sects proceeded on purely doctrinal grounds to discard it. Epiphanius relates, that though the Ebionites did not reject the book, they had besides it an apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, filled with statements depreciating Paul. The Marcionites, too, as we learn from Tertullian, attributed no authority to the book. None of these circumstances, however, tends to invalidate the authenticity of it.

The only trace of a difference of opinion respecting the authorship is found in Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, where it is stated that some believed the writer to be Clement of Rome, others Barnabas, and others Luke the Evangelist.[e] Perhaps, however, the sentiment so quoted may be satisfactorily explained by the fact, that apocryphal Acts of the Apostles were

[b] Stromata, lib. v.
[c] De Jejunio, cap. 10.
[d] H. E. iii. 4.
[e] Amphiloch. quaest. 145.

sometimes confounded with the authentic and genuine history. In any case, the variety of opinion indicated at such a period, and in such a way, is of no weight against prevailing and more ancient testimony.

In discussing the internal evidence in favour of Luke's authorship, we shall endeavour to shew, in the first place, that the book was written by *one* person; and, secondly, that he was none other than the evangelist to whom tradition has always assigned the composition.

I. The same characteristics of style and diction are observable throughout.

The following terms and expressions are *peculiar* to the writer; and it will be seen that they are not confined to one part of the book:—*ἀποφθέγγομαι*, ii. 4, 14; xxvi. 25. *ἀσμένως*, ii. 14; xxi. 17. *ἅφνω*, ii. 2; xvi. 26; xxviii. 6. *βίᾳ*, v. 26; xxi. 35; xxiv. 7; xxvii. 41. *δῆμος*, xii. 22; xvii. 5; xix. 30, 33. *δημοσίᾳ*, xvi. 37; xviii. 28; xx. 20; and *δημόσιος*, v. 18. *διάλεκτος*, i. 19; ii. 6, 8; xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14. *διαπρίω*, v. 33; vii. 54. *διασπείρω*, viii. 1, 4; xi. 19. *διαφθορά*, ii. 27, 31; xiii. 34-37. This word is taken from the Septuagint. *διαχειρίζομαι*, v. 30; xxvi. 21. *ἐκδιηγέομαι*, xiii. 41; xv. 3. *ἐκψύχω*, v. 5, 10; xii. 23. *ἐπιβουλή*, ix. 24; xx. 3, 19; xxiii. 30. *ἐπιδημέω*, ii. 10; xvii. 21. *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ*, with and without the addition of the substantives *day* and *night*, vii. 26; xvi. 11; xx. 15; xxi. 18; xxiii. 11. *εὐφροσύνη*, ii. 28; xiv. 17, taken from the Septuagint. *καρδιογνώστης*, i. 24; xv. 8. *κατασείω τῇ χειρί*, or *τὴν χεῖρα*, xii. 17; xiii. 16; xix. 33; xxi. 40. *μεταπέμπομαι*, x. 5, 22, 29; xi. 13; xxiv, 24, 26; xxv. 3. *μηδαμῶς*, x. 14; xi. 8. *πειράομαι*, ix. 26; xxvi. 21. *περιαστράπτω*, ix. 3; xxii. 6. *πλοῦς*, xxi. 7; xxvii. 9, 10. *πνοή*, ii. 2; xvii. 25. *προοράω*, ii. 25; xxi. 29. *προχειρίζομαι*, iii. 20; xxii. 14; xxvi. 16. *στερεόω*, iii. 7, 16; xvi. 5. *συγχέω*, *συγχύνω*, ii. 6; ix. 22; xix. 32; xxi. 27, 31. *σύγχυσις*, xix. 29. *ὑπηρετέω*, xiii. 36; xx. 34; xxiv. 23. *χειραγωγέω*, ix. 8. *χειραγωγός*, xiii. 11; xxii. 11. *ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι*, i. 11. *ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι*, ii. 14 *ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται*, ii. 22; iii. 12; v. 35; xiii. 16; xxi. 28. *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, xvii. 22. *ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι*, xix. 35. *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*, ii. 29; xiii. 15, 26; xv. 7, 14; xxii. 1; xxiii. 1, 6; xxviii. 17.

There are *favourite* terms and expressions occurring in all parts of the book, such as ὁμοθυμαδόν, i. 14; ii. 1, 46; iv. 24; v. 12; vii. 57; viii. 6; xii. 20; xv. 25; xviii. 12; xix. 29. Elsewhere it occurs only in the epistle to the Romans, xv. 6.

ἱκανός, applied to persons and to time, denoting quantity, and therefore connected with ὄχλος, χρόνος, etc. v. 37; viii. 11; ix. 23, 43; xi. 24, 26; xii. 12; xiv. 3, 21; xviii. 18; xix. 19, 26; xx. 8, 11, 37; xxii. 6; xxvii. 7.

ἀνάγομαι, meaning to set sail, xiii. 13; xvi. 11; xviii. 21; xx. 13; xxi. 1, 2; xxvii. 2, 4, 12, 21; xxviii. 10, 11. Elsewhere only in Luke viii. 22.

ἀποδέχομαι, ii. 41; xv. 4; xviii. 27; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 30. Elsewhere only in Luke viii. 40.

αἵρεσις, denoting sect, v. 17; xv. 5; xxiv. 5, 14; xxvi. 5; xxviii. 22. Elsewhere it is found only in 2 Peter ii. 1.

κἀκεῖθεν, vii. 4; xiii. 21; xiv. 26; xx. 15. Elsewhere only in Mark x. 1.

ἀπειλή, iv. 17, 29; ix. 1.

σεβόμενος (τὸν Θεόν), and σέβομαι, xiii. 43, 50; xvi. 14; xvii. 4, 17; xviii. 7, 13; xix. 27.

συμπαραλαμβάνω, xii. 25; xv. 37, 38.

ὅραμα, vii. 31; ix. 10, 12; x. 3, 17, 19; xi. 5; xii. 9; xvi. 9, 10; xviii. 9. Elsewhere only in Matthew xvii. 9.

μεγαλύνω, v. 13; x. 46; xix. 17. Elsewhere in the Gospel twice, i. 46, 58.

βουλὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ii. 23; iv. 28; xiii. 36; xx. 27. Gospel vii. 30.

μὲν οὖν, twenty-four times.

διό, ten times.

ὑπάρχω, twenty-six times.

διατρίβω, applied to time, xii. 19; xiv. 3, 28; xv. 35; xvi. 12; xx. 6; xxv. 6, 14. Elsewhere only in John iii. 22.

ἀτενίζω, i. 10; iii. 4, 12; vi. 15; vii. 55; x. 4; xi. 6; xiii. 9; xiv. 9; xxiii. 1.

κακόω, vii. 6, 19; xii. 1; xiv. 2; xviii. 10. See 1 Peter iii. 13.

ἐξαυτῆς, x. 33; xi. 11; xxi. 32; xxiii. 30.

διαμαρτύρομαι, ii. 40; viii. 25; x. 42; xviii. 5; xx. 21, 23, 24; xxiii. 11; xxviii. 23.

It occurs but five times in other parts of the New Testament in the same sense.

ἐπιλαμβάνομαι, ix. 27; xvi. 19; xvii. 19; xviii. 17; xxi. 30, 33; xxiii. 19.

πείθω, xii. 20; xiii. 43; xiv. 19; xviii. 4; xix. 8, 26; xxvi. 28; xxviii. 23. *πείθομαι*, v. 36, 37; xvii. 4; xxi. 14; xxiii. 21; xxvi. 26; xxvii. 11; xxviii. 24.

διέρχομαι, viii. 4; xiii. 14. *διέρχομαι ἕως*, ix. 38; xi. 19, 22.

προσέχω, viii. 6, 10, 11; xvi. 14.

ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου, ix. 14, 21; xxii. 16.

ἐπιπίπτω, viii. 16; x. 10, 44; xi. 15; xiii. 11; xix. 17; xx. 10, 37.

ἐγένετο, with an accusative and infinitive, iv. 5; ix. 3, 37; xi. 26; xiv. 1, et passim.[f]

The mode of quotation, too, is the same in all parts of the book; some citations being derived verbatim from the Septuagint, others more or less altered, and others in a manner so unlike the Hebrew that they *appear* even to contradict it. Examples of the *first* may be found in ii. 34, etc.; iv. 25, 26; viii. 32, 33; xiii. 33, 35; of the *second*, in i. 20; ii. 17-21; iii. 22, 23, 25; vii. 3, 6, 7, 32, 49, 50; xiii. 34, 41, 47; xv. 16, 17; xxviii. 26, 27; and of the *third*, in ii. 25, 28; vii. 42, 43; xv. 16, 17.[g]

Subsequent portions are so written as *to refer to* something already said. So in xi. 16 referring back to i. 5.

xi. 19 is linked with viii. 1, and prepares for the *thirteenth* chapter. Schwanbeck,[h] however, endeavours to shew that xi. 19 and viii. 1 do not point to one source, but to various. For this purpose, he wishes to make it appear that what is narrated in xi. 19 does not rightly agree with the situation of viii. 1; since, according to the former, *all* disperse into Judea and Samaria; whereas, according to the latter, the dispersed ones go as far as Phenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. Hence he concludes, that the narrator, when writing viii. 1, knew nothing of the following passage.

This reasoning is singularly weak. The word *all*, in viii. 1,

[f] See Mayerhoff's Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, p. 23, et seq.

[g] See Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 378, et seq.

[h] Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lukas, p. 52.

is not to be *pressed* as though it meant every individual without exception. Besides, the information contained in that first verse is resumed and extended in the fourth verse, where it is said, that the dispersed Christians went *everywhere* preaching the word. In the first place, they were scattered through the regions of Judea and Samaria; and then, many of them travelled even so far as Phenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. Thus xi. 19 certainly refers back to viii. 4, which again is joined to viii. 1.

xii. 25 refers back to xi. 30.

xv. 8 to x. 47.

xv. 38 to xiii. 13. Here, again, Schwanbeck tries to prove that this reference is of little moment, but to no purpose.

xvi. 4 to xv. 23, etc.

xviii. 5 to xvii. 15. Here the difference between the passages to which Schwanbeck directs attention is so trifling as to leave the force of the allusion unimpaired.

xix. 1 to xviii. 23. Here even Schwanbeck admits that the reference is unquestionable.

xxi. 8 to vi. 5.

xxi. 29 to xx. 4. Schwanbeck himself, though wishing to shew that both these passages are not so closely connected as to imply on the part of him who wrote the latter an acquaintance with the former, allows that they came from one source.

xxii. 20 to vii. 58, viii. 1. Here the coincidence is *verbal* in part. The conjecture of Schleiermacher, quoted with approbation by Schwanbeck, that when the author was writing the account of Stephen's death, he had the discourse of Paul now contained in the twenty-second chapter, and took from it the account of Stephen's death, to fill up the history at vii. 57, seems to be quite arbitrary.

There are also similar recapitulations and pauses throughout the book. See ii. 42; iv. 32; v. 12, etc.; ix. 31; xi. 19, etc.; xii. 24; xiv. 21, etc.; xviii. 11; xix. 10, 20.

Such is the amount of internal evidence in favour of one author.

II. And that the one author was none other than Luke the writer of the Gospel, is equally apparent from the work itself.

The similarity of style and diction between the Acts and third Gospel is undoubted, as has been already shewn under the latter. At present, we shall merely adduce the terms that occur in both, but no where else in the New Testament.

τὸ αἴτιον, Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22; Acts xix. 40. ἀναδείκνυμι, x. 1; Acts i. 24. ἀναζητέω, ii. 44; Acts xi. 25. ἀνασπάω, xiv. 5; Acts xi. 10. ἀνευρίσκω, ii. 16; Acts xxi. 4. ἀποδέχομαι, viii. 40; Acts ii. 41; xv. 4; xviii. 27; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 30. ἀποτινάσσω, ix. 5; Acts xxviii. 5. διαπορέω, ix. 7; xxiv. 4; Acts ii. 12; v. 24; x. 17. διατηρέω, ii. 51; Acts xv. 29. διϊσχυρίζομαι, xxii. 59; Acts xii. 15. δικαστής, xii. 14; Acts vii. 27, 35. διοδεύω, viii. 1; Acts xvii. 1. ἐνεδρεύω, xi. 54; Acts xxiii. 21. ἑξῆς, with the article, vii. 11; ix. 37; Acts xxi. 1; xxv. 17; xxvii. 18. ἐπεῖδον, i. 25; Acts iv. 29. ἐπιβιβάζω, x. 34; xix. 35; Acts xxiii. 24. ἐπιφωνέω, xxiii. 21; Acts xii. 22; xxii. 24. ἐπιχειρέω, i. 1; Acts ix. 29; xix. 3. εὐλαβής, ii. 25; Acts ii. 5; viii. 2. εὐτόνως, xxiii. 10; Acts xviii. 28. ζωογονέω, xvii. 33; Acts vii. 19. ἴασις, xiii. 32; Acts iv. 22, 30. καθεξῆς, i. 3; Acts iii. 24; xi. 4; xviii. 23. καθίημι, v. 19; Acts ix. 25; x. 11; xi. 5. καθότι, i. 7; xix. 9; Acts ii. 24; iv. 35. κατακλείω, iii. 20; Acts xxvi. 10. κατακολουθέω, xxiii. 55; Acts xvi. 17. κλάσις, xxiv. 35; Acts ii. 42. μεγαλεῖα, i. 49; Acts ii. 11. ὁδυνάω, ii. 48; xvi. 24, 25; Acts xx. 38. ὁμιλέω, xxiv. 14, 15; Acts xx. 11; xxiv. 26. ὀχλέω, vi. 18; Acts v. 16. παραβιάζομαι, xxiv. 29; Acts xvi. 15. περιλάμπω, ii. 9; Acts xxvi. 13. προϋπάρχω, xxiii. 12; Acts viii. 9. σκάπτω, vi. 48; xiii. 8; xvi. 3; and σκάφη, Acts xxvii. 16, 30, 32. στρατία, ii. 13; Acts vii. 42. συγγένεια, i. 61; Acts vii. 3, 14. συμβάλλω, ii. 19; xiv. 31; Acts iv. 15; xvii. 18; xviii. 27; xx. 14. συμπληρόω, viii. 23; ix. 51; Acts ii. 1. συναθροίζω, xxiv. 33; Acts xii. 12; xix. 25. συναρπάζω, viii. 29; Acts vi. 12; xix. 29; xxvii. 15. σύνειμι, ix. 18; Acts xxii. 11. τραυματίζω, xx. 12; Acts xix. 16. ταχύς, iii. 5; Acts xxvii. 29. ὑπολαμβάνω, vii. 43; x. 30; Acts i. 9; ii. 15.[1]

In conformity with this opinion it is apparent, that several parts are written by an eye-witness of the scenes. Luke accom-

[1] See Mayerhoff, pp. 27, 28.

panied Paul in various journeys, as is implied in Coloss. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philemon 24. The portions which appear to be written by an eye-witness, because the first person plural *we* is employed in them, are xvi. 10-17; xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1—xxviii. 16.

Thus internal and external evidence agree in testifying that Luke was the companion of Paul in different journeys and perils; that he writes as an eye-witness of certain scenes, and that he who employs the first person plural in some portions, is the same who uses elsewhere the third person singular, as not having been present himself when many events took place.

But the authorship of Luke has been more or less impugned. Some for instance have thought, that the eye-witness is Timothy rather than Luke. The former is supposed to have kept a journal while he accompanied the apostle Paul; and Luke inserted in the Acts those four portions belonging to it marked by the first person plural, without even changing the person. According to this hypothesis, the authorship of xvi. 10-17; xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1—xxviii. 16, properly belongs to Timothy.

The following reasons have been assigned for it. They are chiefly of a negative character:—

1. Paul's companions are expressly named elsewhere (xiii. 2, 5; xv. 2, 40; xvi. 3; xviii. 18; xx. 4), but Luke never. Neither at xvi. 10, where it is believed that Luke joined Paul, and therefore speaks in the first person, nor in any other place is Luke mentioned.

This assertion is too sweeping. *All* who appear as Paul's companions are not *always* introduced by name. Thus Erastus is sent with Timothy to Macedonia (xix. 22), but he had not been noticed previously. Titus is neither named at Acts xv. 2, nor in any other part of the history. The latter is a complete parallel to the case of Luke.

It is true that the apostle's companions are *usually* named elsewhere; but that very fact militates against the idea of any of them being the writer, since they are all spoken of in the third person. It is not uncommon for writers to omit their own names among those specified, and to indicate the fact of their presence in some other method. They keep themselves in the background.

This is especially the case with the *sacred* authors, who evince remarkable modesty in keeping themselves out of view. They are occupied wholly with *their subject*. Hence we feel no difficulty in believing Luke to be the writer of the Acts, though he is never mentioned by name. Other companions of Paul are specified. He is not. It is more natural to look for the writer elsewhere than in the list of such names. So far from being desirous that his own name should appear among the rest, he takes it for granted, as sufficiently known to Theophilus and others, that he too accompanied the apostle during some of his journeys. This accorded at once with his modesty and the practice of the inspired authors.

2. The close connexion between xvi. 10 and the preceding verse is incompatible with the idea that Luke appeared as Paul's companion just at that time, and that he is included in the pronoun *we*, in a concealed form, as the apostle's fellow-labourer.

We are quite unable to perceive the force of this argument. The introduction of the pronoun *we* is abrupt; it is unexpected, because no preparatory circumstance gives notice of it; but this is all that can be said truly regarding its appearance. That the writer should introduce himself in such a way is favourable to the fact of his being Luke the Evangelist.

3. It is improbable that Luke joined Paul so early as at xvi. 10, because Paul does not speak of him in the epistles to the Thessalonians; and to the common opinion that he *stayed* at Philippi, the silence of the Philippian epistle is opposed. Since he appears for the first time in the Roman epistle, it is probable that he came to the apostle at Rome for the first time. But it can be proved that Timothy was in Paul's company since xvi. 3. So too, from xx. 5 and onwards; and during the journey to Rome, xxvii. 1, etc. Compare Coloss. i. 1; Philipp. i. 1.

The general opinion is, that Paul met with Luke at Troas, and took him along with him from that time. This, however, is pronounced improbable, because Luke is not spoken of in the Thessalonian epistles. But there is no reason for believing that Luke was with Paul at Corinth, whence the letters to the Thessalonians were written. Were it certain or probable that he *never left* the apostle, then it would be strange that he should be wholly un-

noticed in the Thessalonian epistles; but as there is no good reason for believing him to have gone with Paul to *every* place, the argument loses its force. Again; the change of person at xvii. 1 appears to show that Paul and Silas alone had been persecuted at Philippi, and consequently left it; while Luke and Timothy remained, rejoining the apostle *subsequently*, each at a different time. Now if Luke be thus supposed to have remained behind in Philippi, the silence of the epistle to the Philippians is alleged to be unsuitable. That epistle was written from Rome. It is possible that Luke may not have been with him when he wrote it. He was with Paul during part of the Roman imprisonment, but it is not certain that he was so during *the entire* period. Bleek himself admits the possibility of this. Thus Timothy assisted Paul in planting the Galatian churches, so that he must have been personally acquainted with the Galatians; and yet, when Paul writes the Galatian epistle, Timothy is not spoken of at all. He may have been temporarily absent from the apostle just at that time. Or, though Luke be not mentioned by name, it is not improbable that he is included in the phrase, "the brethren which are with me" (Phil. iv. 21). The names of those brethren could be easily learned from Epaphroditus, the bearer of the letter. In the same manner some have supposed that Timothy was with Paul when the latter wrote to the Galatians, and is included in the phrase, *all the brethren with me* (Galat. i. 2). Luke, indeed, stood in a peculiar relation to the church at Philippi, and, therefore, it may be thought strange that he is not *specified by name;* but in a letter comparatively short, it would scarcely have been expedient to give individual names. Thus the silence of the Philippian epistle is perfectly compatible with the fact, that Luke stayed behind in Philippi at the point of time alluded to in xvii. 1.

The absence of Luke's name from the epistles written before Paul's imprisonment at Rome is no good reason for thinking that he had not been with the apostle before, as long as it cannot be proved that Luke was with Paul at the very times and places of his writing those ante-Roman letters.

Perhaps Neander and others are right in believing *the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches* (2 Cor.

viii. 18) to be Luke. Waiving this however, it is apparent from 2 Cor. viii. 18, compared with the subsequent context (see verse 22), that persons closely connected with the apostle, and employed on important services, are not specified by name even in epistles addressed to churches with which they had interesting intercourse. Hence we need not be surprised that Luke is not named. Nor is the alleged inferior position of his name in Coloss. iv. 14, Philem. 24, of any consequence. It may stand there appropriately, though Luke accompanied the writer long before. The manner in which he is spoken of by Paul, in the former passage, seems to us unfavourable to the supposition that he *joined* the apostle at Rome for the first time. It is not likely that he would have written of him in this way to the Colossians for the first time, had he not been in Paul's society before going to Rome. In any case, the sacred apostle appears to have had no regard to length of companionship with himself or to weight of character, in arranging the names of his associates.

4. Timothy is not mentioned in xvi. 19, etc. If then Timothy were not the narrator, but Luke, Timothy must have been specified, as he is elsewhere (xvii. 14, etc.; xviii. 5).

This mode of reasoning does not seem to be secure. It amounts to this: because a writer follows one method in one or more parts of his work, he must pursue the same in every part of it. His manner of proceeding, it is argued, should be *rigidly uniform*. But the sacred writers were beyond all others inattentive to such matters. They gave little heed to the method and conformation of their writings. They seldom thought of exact, artificial plans in their compositions. With artless simplicity they put things together. These observations apply especially to the evangelists or *gospel*-writers. When therefore it is affirmed, that if Luke, not Timothy, had been the narrator, the latter *must* have been mentioned in xvi. 19, et seq., as he is elsewhere (xvii. 14, etc., xviii. 5), the assertion is of no force, because it is manifestly unreasonable to bind down the writer to the same method throughout. Because he specifies Timothy by name in some places, it is not at all necessary that he should mention him in xvi. 33.

5. One who had just entered into the society of the apostle could not use the terms *συμβιβάζοντες*, κ. τ. λ.; implying that he

participated in the deliberations (xvi. 10). On the other hand, such language is appropriate to Timothy (comp. xvi. 1 - 3).

This argument does not appear conclusive. Even Schwanbeck makes light of it. Had the word *συμβιβάζοντες* indeed involved the idea of *formal* deliberation or consultation, there might have been some weight in the statement; but as it means nothing more than *concluding* or *inferring*, which every individual in the company did without hesitation, in consequence of the *vision*, it does not militate against Luke's authorship. They formed their opinion at once, without the slow process of mutual deliberation. Paul obeyed a heavenly vision forthwith. He never hesitated to follow it.

6. From xv. 40—xvi. 40, which forms one connected paragraph, Paul had two companions, viz. Silas (xv. 40); and from Lystra onward, Timothy (xvi. 1, etc). It is probable, therefore, that the piece proceeded from one of the two. It could not have been written by Silas, because he would not have said elsewhere, *Paul* and *Silas*, but *Paul and I* (verse 19). Hence it follows, that the paragraph probably proceeded from Timothy.

This argument is absolutely futile. Must every thing be written by a companion and eye-witness? If so, Aquila wrote several portions.

7. The eye-witness is a Jewish christian, according to the designations of time employed in xx. 6, xxvii. 9. But Luke was not a Jewish christian.

Here it is too hastily asserted, that such marks of time could only have proceeded from a Jewish christian. They are certainly *Jewish;* but a Gentile christian might refer to the seasons in question. In the first passage the writer states, that the passover occurred while Paul and his company were at Philippi; for which reason their journey was suspended. They tarried there till the feast was over. Thus the reason of their stay is announced; and surely a Gentile christian must have mentioned a Jewish festival in giving that reason. In the second passage (xxvii. 9), the fast is naturally enough introduced to describe a certain season of the year, because the writer is speaking of Paul and of Jewish relations. Schwanbeck himself looks on this argument also as of no weight.

8. The introduction to the section xx. 5-15 shews it to have been written by Timothy. The sentence said to be contained in the fourth and fifth verses should be divided into two, thus:—*συνείπετο δὲ . . . . . καὶ Τιμόθεος. Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ . . . . . Τρωάδι.* At the end of the first sentence, Timothy's name stands last. Had Luke been the writer, Timothy could not have stood last. His name, as that of the most important person, must have been placed first. Since, therefore, his name is put last, it is probable that he was the writer, his own modesty leading him to say at the close, *καὶ ἐγὼ*, which Luke altered into *Τιμόθεος*, but allowed the first person plural immediately succeeding to remain as it was.

Let it be granted for a moment that the construction should be altered in the manner advocated by Ulrich.[k] In that case, it would be natural for Luke to place Timothy's name last, because he had recently joined the apostle. He did not at the time occupy so important a position as to justify his being put at the head. At that period he was a youthful disciple.

But the construction proposed is not natural, in consequence of the repetition of the nominative case it assumes after *two* names, viz. Tychicus and Trophimus. The *οὗτοι* would seem to refer to *more* than two. As to the δὲ after *Ἀσιανοί* favouring such a separation of the last two names from the preceding, the particle occurs also after *Θεσσαλονικέων*. De Wette, Bleek, and others, who refer *οὗτοι* to the last two persons, think it quite unnecessary to put a point after *Τιμόθεος*, or to suppose that Timothy would not write his own name. In the latter respect, they appear to be right; but to refer *οὗτοι* to the *last two* names out of a list contained in a sentence, and *to none else*, appears to be quite arbitrary. We cannot but think that Luke, or the writer of the Acts, would have been less ambiguous in his phraseology, had such meaning been intended.

9. All the other names in xx. 4, 5 have epithets attached to them, but Timothy has none. He alone stands without the mention of his native place. Hence Ulrich thinks it all the more likely that a simple *ἐγώ* stood originally, for which Luke substituted *Τιμόθεος*.

[k] Studien und Kritiken for 1837, Heft. ii. p. 369, et seq.

The reason why Timothy's native place is omitted seems to be because he was well known to the readers already. He is minutely described at xvi. 1, 2, as "the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess, and believed, but his father was a Greek: which was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium." It is said, however, that Luke is accustomed to describe persons by certain epithets, as often as they are mentioned. Thus Aristarchus is more than once termed "the Macedonian." So also in regard to Trophimus. But the long description in xvi. 1, 2 could not be repeated on every mention of Timothy's name; and a short one was thought unnecessary. Why should Luke follow the very same method respecting Timothy, the best known of all Paul's associates, as in the case of others? It is unreasonable, as has been already remarked, to bind down an author to the very same procedure in every case.

10. Had Luke been the writer, he must have used *συνειπόμεθα*. We are totally unable to see how he could have employed the first person plural without altering his present phraseology and sentences very considerably. Not thinking of himself, he speaks first of all the others in the first person, *before* he introduces himself, in the least conspicuous manner, as included in others. This comports with the modesty of an inspired writer. Besides, the verb *συνείπετο* seems properly to belong to *Σώπατρος* alone.

11. It may probably be supposed that Theophilus already knew that Luke had accompanied Paul. But the Acts of the Apostles were certainly not intended for Theophilus alone. How then were other readers to understand the passage? How were they to learn from it that Luke had been Paul's associate? Surely, had he been so, and had he spoken of himself as the writer, he must have made the thing much clearer to the apprehension of subsequent readers.

To this the matter of fact is a sufficient answer. Readers of the book generally have inferred from *ἡμεῖς*, that Luke was the eye-witness and writer. The expression has not proved so very obscure to them as is conceived.

Thus most of the considerations adverse to the supposition of Luke being the eye-witness, and favourable to that of Timothy instead, are derived from phenomena belonging to the sections

xvi. 10-17 and xx. 4-15. Little use has been made, for the same purpose, of the other two paragraphs in which the first person plural occurs, because it can never be disproved that Luke was then with Paul.[1]

Mayerhoff proceeds farther than Schleiermacher and the critics who have followed him. Not only does he endeavour to show that Timothy was the eye-witness and writer of the second part of the Acts, or that in which the first person plural occurs; but he thinks that Timothy wrote also the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters. For this purpose two arguments are adduced:—

The missionary tour of Paul described in these chapters has a graphic and vivid stamp; and the chief scene of it too, is Timothy's native land.

This consideration is absolutely futile. Timothy was not Paul's associate, any more than Luke, during the first missionary journey to the Gentiles. But as the countries then visited by the apostles bordered on Timothy's native land, the latter is made to gather accounts of Paul's activity in Pisidia, Lycaonia, Antioch, Lystra, Iconium, and Derbe, which verbal reports were subsequently corrected after Timothy had become associated with Paul. Such is the clumsy expedient resorted to by Mayerhoff.

The form of the narration in these chapters is the same as in the subsequent ones.

The legitimate tendency of this argument, as unfolded by Mayerhoff himself without hesitation, forms its best refutation. He supposes that the first twelve chapters also proceeded from Timothy; and, then, that the third Gospel too was written by the same author, its style and diction resembling those of the Acts. Thus the conclusion drawn is, that "the part belonging to Luke, both in the Gospel and the Acts, was entirely subordinate; viz. that of a transcriber of the works composed by Timothy. It was probably a later tradition which made Luke what he had never been in reality—an attendant of Paul on his journeys and author of the Acts as well as the Gospel."

How strange it is to reason thus. Though Timothy was the writer, Luke cannot be dispensed with. He must be called

[1] See Scheckenburger, ueber den Zweck der Apostelgesch. pp. 17 - 44.

in as copyist. All this is arbitrary hypothesis. The passage in xx. 4, 5, to mention no more, is utterly opposed to the hypothesis; as is Mayerhoff's interpretation of the verb *συνείπετο* to right hermeneutical principles.

Others regard *Silas* as the *writer* included in the first person plural. He, it is thought, composed the memoirs of which the last part of the book consists. This hypothesis has been recently adopted and defended by Schwanbeck. He supposes that the memoranda written by Silas begin at the thirteenth verse of the fifteenth chapter, and form the remainder of the Acts, with a few exceptions.

It is difficult to deal with the arguments, if, indeed, they ought to be so called, which are advanced by the author in favour of this notion. They are hard to manage, because they are shadowy or impalpable. Critical caprice is so great as to despise all sober limits.

We shall first mention a statement of a negative character, made by De Wette, after Schwanbeck, for the purpose, apparently, of favouring this view. It is merely an extension of No. 4 already given.

"In xvi. 17, not only the *we*-narrator, but Timothy also, disappears, and we must therefore assume a twofold negligence on the part of the author of Acts." [m] Thus the way is opened up for the assumption of another writer, viz. Silas.

But if neither Timothy nor Luke was involved in the affair of which a description begins at xvi. 19, no carelessness, but on the contrary *the greatest accuracy* is observable. And then let us look at the arbitrary assumption involved in the supposition of Silas being the writer here. Silas wrote *we*, and the editor who put the materials together into one work, resolved the *we* into the names Paul and Silas. [n]

The entire description of the apostolic council, it is argued, betrays an eye-witness. At the close of the account especially there is a copiousness of detail even respecting unimportant points, which has no proper relation to the external compass of

[m] See De Wette's Einleitung in die Kanonischer Bücher des N. T., fifth edition, § 114. (*d*).

[n] Schwanbeck, p. 176.

the Acts. There is no proportion between the extent of the narratives elsewhere and the prolixity of that now given. Silas appears as the narrator by the fact, that it is first carefully stated how Judas and Silas were chosen as deputies at Antioch. The very letter they carried is in the back-ground in comparison with the sending of those men. Thus the circumstantiality with which the mission of the two, Judas and Silas, is here described, is supposed to constitute a ground or confirmation of the opinion that Silas himself was the writer of the account.

It is easy to perceive that there is no *argumentation* in all this. There is not even an approach to it. It does not appeal to the conviction of any one. Hence it would be a waste of time to attempt to grapple with it. In fact, it presents nothing tangible to lay hold of.

Scheckenburger[o] appropriately deduces a refutation of the hypothesis from the very same passage, because of the words appended to the names of Judas and Silas, viz. *chief men among the brethren*. The author could not have written thus to Theophilus respecting himself. Schwanbeck, however, eludes the objection by assigning the words in question to the editor of the book. This fancied editor, who put together and wrought up the materials before him, did not confine himself to the mere mechanical copying of them, but inserted various particulars. It is impossible to catch one who can resort at will to conjectures like this. He has an *assumption* ready to meet any argument however valid.

Schwanbeck passes over the thirty-second verse (of the fifteenth chapter), which is unfavourable to the Silas-hypothesis. In the thirty-fourth, he resorts to his never-failing expedient, that *the editor* made some change in that which Silas wrote; and in the thirty-sixth, he has recourse to *an unnatural interpretation*, that the verse may speak conformably to the mind of the critic.

The magic wand of *the editor* of the Acts is again summoned to account for the sudden change of *Paul and we* (xvi. 17) into *Paul and Silas* (xvi. 19). Silas wrote *we*, and it was resolved into the names contained in it.

[o] Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte, p. 38, note.

The prison-scene at Philippi is supposed to present the first serious difficulty in the way of the hypothesis, because the narrative is suddenly impregnated with the miraculous. The thirty-fifth verse in particular serves to shew, that the account has been mutilated. The editor used his materials *freely*, expunging in them various things, so that what has now the appearance of the marvellous would have ceased to be deemed such, had the memoirs been edited *fully*.

Surely all this is mere trifling, utterly unworthy of serious notice. But it shews the self-delusion of theorists who succeed in persuading themselves of *anything*, when once they resolve to be wise *above* and even *contrary to*, that which is written.

At xvii. 14, the name of Timothy appears quite unexpectedly. But the omission of Timothy before this is easily explained. Silas had written *we* always; but at xvi. 19 the editor felt that he must resolve the pronoun into its component names. In doing so, however, he thought merely of Paul, whose history was the subject immediately in hand, and of Silas, author of the memoirs; whereas Timothy did not come into his memory till his name really appeared in the original memoirs written by Silas, which was at xvii. 14. Thus the exhibition of the names *Paul and Silas* instead of *they*, and the passing by of Timothy, appear in the same sections.

There is no possibility of grasping such shadowy conjectures. To call them *evidence*, or even *slight presumptions*, were to dignify them with a title to which they have no pretension.

After the same fashion, a decided proof against Luke is founded on xvii. 15, on account of its *form*, because the Beroean attendants of Paul are placed in the foreground, and particulars referred to them rather than Paul.

Such is a specimen of the manner in which Schwanbeck proceeds with the Silas-hypothesis. Having formed his opinion, he applies it to the sacred narrative with the most arbitrary caprice. Difficulties vanish before the touch of his conjectural wand. The Silas-memoirs were freely used by the editor, or, in other words, the person who put together the materials of the book of Acts.

Weary with following such a burlesque on argumentation, we gladly dismiss it with the deliberate statement, that not a single

real *proof* is adduced in its favour. The specimen given may suffice to shew the likelihood of our statement being correct.

Here it may be proper to notice the hypothesis which identifies Luke with Silas. One or two recent writers, among whom is Hennell the deistical author, have embraced it. But it rests on no good foundation. Hennell reasons thus:—The only companions of Paul, at the time when the pronoun *we* first occurs (xvi. 10), appear to have been Silas and Timothy (xv. 40; xvi. 3, 4, 6). Hence some one of the three wrote the Acts. It could neither have been Timothy, nor Paul himself (xx. 4, 13). Therefore, Silas was the writer.[p]

The names are adduced in confirmation of the hypothesis, *Silas* or *Silvanus* being equivalent to *Lucas* or *Lucanus:* the one derived from *silva*, a wood; the other from *lucus*, a grove.

To all the considerations brought forward by this writer and others we reply,—The words of xv. 22 render it most improbable that the writer should so speak of himself: "Then it pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, *chief men among the brethren*."

It is inexplicable also, how the author could change the *third* and *first* persons, as he does on this hypothesis. Thus the *third* person plural is used in xvi. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, including Paul, Silas, and Timotheus. But at the tenth verse we find, "and after he had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* for to preach the Gospel unto them." Here the *first* personal pronoun means Paul, Silas, and Timotheus; so that there is a sudden transition from the third to the first person, *the individuals continuing the same.* Following the course of the narrative, we find these words, "as *we* went to prayer, a certain damsel, etc., met *us*," etc. (xvi. 16): "the same followed Paul and *us*," etc. (xvi. 17). In these verses the *we* and *us* are said to mean Silas and Timotheus, irrespective of Paul; but surely this interpretation is arbitrary in the sixteenth verse. Again, in xvii. 15, Silas and

[p] Inquiry into the Origin of Christianity, p. 93, note.

Timotheus appear in the *third* person. Thus, within a short compass, the first person plural is used, meaning Paul, Silas, and Timothy; Silas and Timothy alone; and the third person, Silas and Timotheus. Surely, no writer would have left his narrative exactly in this form. Such arbitrary alternations of person do not agree with the hypothesis. Other considerations, unfavourable to the view in question, might be stated, were it at all desirable; but it is not. No impartial reader of the Acts is likely to adopt so baseless an opinion.[q]

Did Luke use written documents?

Some inquirers introduce the discussion of this question with peculiar prejudices. They endeavour to shew, that Luke *may have written* the book without consulting any documents. It is supposed, accordingly, that he may have drawn on his own recollection, or on that of the apostle Paul, for the materials of xvi. 11—xxviii. 31. As to the earlier events of the apostle's career, he may have received a knowledge of them too from the apostle himself; while the events related in the first twelve chapters were so well known among the persons with whom Luke associated, that he needed no other human aid in describing them. In this manner, some *prejudge* the whole question. They set out with the idea of shewing that the evangelist *may* have finished the Acts without the assistance of any written materials. But *the true* method of proceeding is different. Does a careful, unbiassed reading of the book suggest the probability of documents being actually employed? The question is not whether it be *possible* to conceive of Luke's having done without them, but, as a matter of fact, *whether he really did so?* What conclusion would a reader, whose simple aim was to arrive at the truth, draw from a minute perusal of the Acts? We cannot imagine that he would arrive at any other inference than that the author had recourse to written documents. It is true, that the exact amount of evidence in favour of this opinion may not be very strong. It may not be convincing to a mind which demands *powerful and palpable* proof. It is natural to expect that it should not be very striking. The circumstances of the case do not warrant evidence the most

[q] See Eadie's Biblical Cyclopaedia, under the word *Silas*.

patent to every mind. But that there are sufficient indications of the fact throughout the book is clear to our apprehension. Such as are determined to admit nothing that will not overbear their prejudices, may not be satisfied with the intimations in question: they may even call them shadowy conjectures; but those who peruse the book repeatedly will scarcely fail to draw another conclusion. That the evangelist employed written sources does not militate against the notion of inspiration. God is not honoured by the assumption that the sacred writers were acted on as mere machines. Theology is not promoted by it. Is anything gained by the hypothesis that the sacred writers were put into a state in which their own powers were suspended, their research dispensed with, and all human assistance withdrawn, in order that both matter and words might be communicated to their minds by a special revelation? Assuredly not.

The following phenomena in the book indicate the employment of written sources by the author:—

1. While there is a substantial similarity of style and diction in the book, there is a perceptible difference between the first and last divisions of it. That similarity is so great, as to warrant the belief that the whole proceeded from the same author; while on the other hand, the dissimilarity is generally acknowledged. The latter is of such a kind as to shew, that the author was more dependent on external sources in the one case than in the other. It consists in the more Hebraistic cast of the first half. The last is better and purer Greek. It is freer from Hebraisms. It is much less tinged with a Hebrew colouring. The differences between the two consist, however, in *lexical* more than *grammatical* peculiarities.

We are aware that this distinction between the former and latter parts of the book may be partly accounted for by facility in composition. The author's style improved in proportion to the quantity written. But that consideration does not fully or satisfactorily explain the phenomenon in question, because the improvement in the course of the same work could not be so marked or abrupt. It would have been in that case more gradual as well as less perceptible all at once. Nor can it be fully explained by the fact, that the Hebrew in the first part is found

in the discourses which were spoken in Hebrew. Not only where Peter speaks, but in historical sections, does this Hebraised diction occur: as i. 15; i. 23, etc.; ii. 1-4, where the *καὶ* so often repeated as the one connecting particle strongly savours of the Hebrew way of connection; iv. 7; xi. 22; v. 41. Luke was more dependent on written sources, and therefore his style was not so free. Historical fidelity, perhaps also inability to mould the language as much as he might have desired, combined to exhibit a more Hebraised diction in various parts of his work. The following examples of such diction may be sufficient: *υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ*, v. 21. *υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῆς διαθήκης*, iii. 25. *υἱὸς διαβόλου*, xiii. 10. *ἐνώπιον*, in a metaphorical sense, iv. 19; vi. 5, etc. *βαστάζειν ἐνώπιον*, ix. 15. *ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*, ii. 5; iv. 12. *τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, x. 12; xi. 6. *παῖς θεοῦ*, *servant* of God (not *Son* of God), applied to Jesus, iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30. *τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς*, exalted *to* the right hand of God, ii. 33; v. 31. Hebraisms of course are found in both parts, sometimes the same expressions; but this does not at all affect the argument respecting their *relative proportion*, and the Hebraistic tinge generally that marks the first half of the book.

2. Traces of different sources are discernible here and there. Thus the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, forming an entire and complete section, seem to be derived from the journal of a party directly concerned. Their *commencement and form* both favour this opinion. Thus the name *Saul* is not placed immediately after Barnabas, as it is at the close of the twelfth chapter, but last of all the names (xiii. 1, 2), pointing apparently to a different source from the preceding chapter. The form of the narrative, too, is like that of an epitomised one. There is little uniformity, for instance, in the account of Paul's sojourn in different cities. Various parts of the original narrative must have been omitted, or considerably abbreviated. If it proceeded from one of the missionaries themselves, as is most probable, there can be little doubt that Luke followed it faithfully with slight variations, except in the way of abridgment. Again: at xix. 16, something seems to have been omitted, which the historian might have given. Yet it would appear that he has furnished a very meagre extract from the source which was before him. The first

αὐτῶν of the received text should be ἀμφοτέρων, as Lachmann has it; and the latter adjective presupposes the knowledge of other circumstances on the part of the writer. Again: xi. 28 and xxi. 10 were drawn from different, independent sources, because Agabus is spoken of in the latter passage as if he had not been introduced before.

There is also a want of pragmatical connexion between the eleventh and twelfth chapters that favours the same view. Perhaps the particulars respecting the apostle Peter, related in the latter chapter, were taken from a consecutively written life of him.

On the whole, there is a looseness of junction between several paragraphs in the book—paragraphs especially which contain minute circumstances of detail—rendering it highly probable that Luke put his materials together without much carefulness. In employing various memoirs, he was by no means solicitous to alter the beginnings of sections so as to make them fit exactly with what he had already written. The repetitions of the same things, such as of Paul's conversion—repetitions presenting very considerable diversities—favour the same idea.

3. The book before us contains letters which must have been drawn from written sources. Thus, in xv. 23-29, the genuineness of the Jerusalem epistle is obvious to the most superficial reader. It bears the stamp of originality and unaltered fidelity. It will be observed that the position of the two names, Barnabas and Paul, is different from that which had been adopted since the thirteenth chapter, after the latter individual had become more prominent; but this very circumstance shews the exactness with which the historian followed the document. And as James probably dictated the epistle, we are not surprised to find the term χαίρειν at the commencement: on the contrary, it is characteristic of him, and occurs elsewhere only in his epistle, James i. 1. Every one feels the justness of Neander's observation, "The style of this document (marked by simplicity and extreme brevity) testifies its originality. Had the author of the Acts set himself to compose such an epistle, and attempted to assume the situation of the writer, it would have been a very different composition." Equally apparent is the originality of another epistle, xviii. 26-30.

It is brief and faithful; not such as Luke would have written for Lysias, in the circumstances referred to. The last clause of the twenty-seventh verse, in which the tribune makes a false statement for the purpose of concealing the mistake he had committed, is a proof of the letter's genuineness.

4. The leading discourses and speeches occasionally prove that they were partially at least taken from written sources. Here we need only shew, that whereas several of them were originally spoken in Aramaean, Luke employed a version not made by himself. Thus Peter's address at Jerusalem, contained in xi. 5 - 17, could not have been translated in the first instance by Luke, else he would not have had the imperfect ἤμην, which is foreign to his style; nor ὥσπερ καί, for which he has always καθὼς καί.

But the character of the discourses themselves is the most probable argument in favour of this sentiment. They are exactly suitable to the persons speaking. Not only the ideas, but the words—the style as well as the sequence of thought; the construction of sentences as well as the theological views—accord with all that is known of the speakers from other sources. *Originality* and *fidelity* must be attributed to them; and such qualities could only be secured by the writer's access to authentic documents.

This subject has been treated by Ebrard,[r] who has collected a number of illustrative examples, all of them not appropriate.

The discourses of Peter resemble one another, having so much internal likeness as to evince their common origin in the same person. So also those of Paul.

Let us first look at those of the former apostle, (*a*) in *phrases and modes of expression*, as well as in *ideas*; (*b*) in their analogy to the recognised peculiarities of Peter in his first epistle.

(*a*) Ἐλάλησε ὁ θεός, or προφήτης, ii. 31; iii. 21, 24. μετανοήσατε καὶ—ἐπιστρέφετε, or something similar, iii. 19; viii. 22. διὰ στόματος τῶν προφητῶν, iii. 18, 21; comp. iv. 25. νῦν οἶδα, with ἀληθῶς, or without it, iii. 17; xii. 11; comp. x. 34. Jesus died τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ, ii. 23; iv. 28; x. 42. The same idea is found in different places. So also the idea that while the Jews

[r] Wissenschaftliche Kritik, p. 889, et seq.

believed that they had destroyed Jesus, they had been the instruments of exalting him to glory, recurs on various occasions in Peter's addresses: ii. 23, etc.; iii. 13, etc.; v. 30; x. 39. Jesus is called *the servant of God*, παῖς θεοῦ, iii. 26; iv. 27, 30.

(*b*) Compare with the passages that express the idea of Jesus suffering by the determinate counsel of God, 1 Peter i. 2, 20; ii. 4-6. The antithesis between the plan of the Jews for annihilating the Redeemer and his glorious resurrection occurs in 1 Peter i. 19, etc.: Psalm cxviii. 22 is quoted by Peter; Acts iv. 11, and first epistle, ii. 7.

In regard to Paul, let us follow the same order.

(*a*) Words and phrases, constructions and modes of connecting propositions and sentences, and theological ideas are repeated in different discourses. Thus Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, xiii. 16 and 26; comp. x. 22. Ὁ θεὸς ὃς ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανον, κ. τ. λ. xiv. 15; xvii. 24. ἐγὼ οἶδα, xx. 25 and 29. μετὰ δακρύων, xx. 19 and 31. The peculiar use of ὁδός, meaning *religion*, sometimes in a bad sense, xiv. 16; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14. In Peter, the word is connected with another substantive, such as ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς δικαιοσύνης and means *the way*.

The introduction of clauses into a sentence with ὅτι, xiv. 22; xvii. 3. καὶ νῦν, καὶ τανῦν, xiii. 10; xx. 22, 25, 32; xxii. 16; xxvi. 6; xxvii. 22. καὶ νῦν ἰδού, xiii. 11; xx. 25. καθαρὸς ἐγώ, xviii. 6; xx. 26. οὐ or οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι, xx. 20 and 27. Compare the idea in xx. 26 with that in xviii. 6. Hope is associated with the resurrection, either of Jesus or of the dead generally; and Paul is often charged with entertaining such a hope, xxiii. 6; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 6, etc.; xxviii. 20.

(*b*) These peculiarities in the speeches of Paul coincide with such as are presented in his epistles.

χαρίζομαι is applied to the divine conduct in relation to men, Acts xxvii. 24; Romans viii. 32; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 10; xii. 13; Galat. iii. 18; Ephes. iv. 32; Philip. i. 29; Coloss. ii. 13; Philem. 22. ἀποβολή, Acts xxvii. 22, and Romans xi. 15. ἀπρόσκοπος, Acts xxiv. 16; 1 Cor. x. 32; Phil. i. 10. πάντα, used adverbially for *wholly, in all respects*, xx. 35; 1 Cor. x. 33; Ephes. iv. 15. κατὰ πάντα, Acts xvii. 22; Coloss. iii. 20, 22. ἐποικοδομεῖν, Acts xx. 32; 1 Cor. iii. 9; Ephes. ii. 20, etc. πληροῦν, τελεῖν

τὸν δρόμον, *to die*, Acts xiii. 25; xx. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 7. The conjunctions διό and διότι, so much used by Paul in his epistles, are also found in his addresses in the Acts xiii. 35; xx. 31; xxvii. 34. In the received text μαρτυρούμενος is used actively, xxvi. 22. See 2 Thess. ii. 12. But perhaps the reading should be μαρτυρόμενος.

In regard to similarity of ideas, we refer to Acts xiii. 17, compared with the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. Τὸ σπέρμα κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν, Acts xiii. 23 and 32. See the epistle to the Romans. The ἐπαγγελία is fulfilled to the τέκνοις, Acts xiii. 32; Galat. iv.; Romans ix.; Acts xiii. 39; comp. Romans viii. 3. ὁ θεὸς ζῶν, Acts xiv. 15; Romans ix. 26; 2 Cor. iii. 3; vi. 16; 1 Thess. i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15; iv. 10, etc. The heathen might have perceived the true God, Acts xvii. 27; Romans i. 20. *To serve* God; religion, *a service*, Acts xx. 19; xxvii. 23; xxiv. 14; xxiii. 1; and xiii. 36. Comp. Romans vi. 6; vii. 25; xii. 11; Galat. iv. 8; Titus iii. 3. Compare too Romans i. 1; Philipp. i. 1; Titus i. 1. Acts xx. 24; comp. Philipp. iii. 7, etc. *To receive, give, or obtain an inheritance among the saints*, Acts xx. 32; xxvi. 18; Coloss. i. 12; Ephes. i. 11 and 14. Comp. Acts xx. 33, etc. with 1 Cor. ix. 4; 2 Cor. xi. Acts xxiv. 15; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 29. xxiv. 16; comp. 1. Tim. i. 18; iv. 7. Ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, Acts xxvi. 18; Ephes. i. 18; iv. 18; v. 8; Coloss. i. 13; 1 Thess. v. 4.

It might be shewn also that the same ideas are differently expressed by Peter, Luke, and Paul.

Such adaptation of ideas, terms, and constructions to the mental characteristics, as well as the external circumstances of the speakers, indicates written materials at the disposal of the historian. We are aware of the exceptions that have been taken to this mode of proving the propriety and authentic character of the discourses. Thus we are reminded by De Wette that the same mode of applying the Old Testament, the same peculiarities of expression, the same ideas and turns of thought, occur in the speeches of different persons. Various examples are given of these several phenomena. But they do not militate against the validity of the position already laid down. Amid *diversity*, *similarity* was to be expected, because the speakers were filled with

the same fundamental ideas, because they commonly employed the same language and spoke on one great theme. Considering their previous habits, the divine influences that rested upon them, the circumstances in which they were placed, the hearers with whom they had to deal, the prejudices and unbelief they had to oppose, in a word, their internal and external relations; it is natural to look for similarity both of ideas and of phraseology, *to a certain extent*. Yet there is diversity notwithstanding; so much at least as to prove that Luke did not freely compose these discourses and put them into the mouths of the speakers.

De Wette also quotes from Tholuck, who says,[s] "that the discourses of Paul are narrated in the language of Luke more than that of Paul," for the purpose of neutralising the adaptation which we have endeavoured to illustrate. But even supposing Tholuck's statement to be perfectly free from exaggeration (which we do not admit), does not the connection that subsisted between Paul and Luke—the master and the disciple—suggest the probability of finding a considerable analogy of thought and terminology between them? So far from Luke altering Paul's speeches, by tinging them strongly with his characteristic sentiments and terms, is it not much more likely that the peculiarities of the evangelist are largely to be attributed to the moulding influences of the apostle? It is possible indeed to go too far and maintain that the speeches in the Acts are the genuine reproduction of those delivered even to the minutest terms and constructions; and we are disposed to think that Ebrard has erred in this manner. But it is also possible to fall into the opposite error, by explaining away the characteristic diversities of the speakers, or by an undue lessening of their relative proportion to the characteristics common to the whole book. De Wette perhaps has gone too far towards this latter extreme.

After these observations, it is not necessary to refute at length the opinion of Eichhorn,[t] who argues that the speeches are the composition of Luke himself. They are specimens of his ability, similar to those which Thucydides or Livy puts into the mouth of the persons introduced into their histories. Having been favoured

[s] Studien und Kritiken for 1839, p. 306.

[t] Einleit, vol. ii. p. 28, et seq.

with general accounts—with oral traditions—he moulded them himself in the shape they now assume—a shape both natural and appropriate. Here the ingenious critic is mistaken. Luke must have occupied a far higher position in regard to philosophical talent, had he been capable of the task attributed to him. In that case, he must have had the genius of Thucydides in ancient, or of Johnson in modern, times. But it is well known that he was a plain, simple-minded writer, unconscious of such powers as fit their possessor for taking a comprehensive view of an entire subject, and filling up each subdivision of it in the peculiar method required. By the representation in question, the historian of the Acts, though he was a man of some education, is exalted far too much. He is numbered among the creative spirits whose appearance is so rare among men. Neither his natural faculties nor his education were such as to qualify him for so great an undertaking. He did not commence and prosecute his work with the elaborate skill implied in Eichhorn's hypothesis. He was not intent on *the composition* so much as *the fidelity* of his narratives, which bear none of the marks of philosophical genius. We cannot believe him to have been *naturally* capable of freely composing the discourses and speeches; especially as the entire disposition of them—their peculiar arrangement as well as the individual ideas—are well fitted to the persons and circumstances to which they are assigned in the history. Neither does he seem to have been *divinely* elevated to such a height of intellectual greatness.

It is not easy to characterise the discourses and speeches generally. It may be asked, Are they given with exact verbal literality? and, Are they presented in all their integrity and fulness? We shall make a few remarks on both questions.

(*a*) Respecting such as were delivered in Aramaean, it is of course impossible that they can be given with verbal literality. The Greek is *a translation*. But still the question recurs in another shape, Did Luke translate the original *verbatim*, supposing him to have made it himself? or, if he employed existing versions, did he follow the words with rigid scrupulousness, those versions being as literal as possible?

The reflecting inquirer will probably come to the conclusion,

that the discourses of the apostles and others are not given *verbatim* as they were delivered. This is favoured by the *improbability* of their having been written down by hearers at the time they were delivered, or immediately after. The idea that they were taken down *then* cannot be entertained. It is *possible* however, that Luke may have often departed from his sources, in order to give the exact terms employed by the speakers; which terms had not been given in the oral or written traditions he used. But if it was *impossible* in the case of those spoken in Aramaean to furnish the *ipsissima verba*, inasmuch as the entire book is in Greek, it may well have been deemed *unnecessary* to present the *ipsissima verba* of such as were at first spoken in Greek, especially if the evangelist had not been himself a hearer. We believe that the Greek speeches are not reported by Luke in the identical terms originally employed, because there are several instances in which various peculiarities of Luke's diction appear in the addresses of Peter and Paul. It is true, that these examples are not at all so great or numerous as Mayerhoff supposes. The speeches in question are pervaded essentially by the diction of Peter and Paul, as it may be discerned from other sources. But *they* go to the opposite extreme who assert that the minutest, most delicate characteristics of language are preserved throughout, the diction being in no case or respect that of Luke himself. Unquestionably the general type and character of the language is that of the speakers; but yet there are individual expressions belonging to the historian and different from those used by the speakers.

A few examples, collected from Peter's addresses, may be mentioned: ὑπολαμβάνω, in the sense of *suppose* or *think*, Acts ii. 15, is used by Luke alone; see his Gospel, vii. 43. The union of τέρατα και σημεία, ii. 22: see ii. 43; iv. 30; v. 12; vi. 8; xiv. 3; xv. 12. ὁρίζω, ii. 23: see x. 42; xi. 29; xvii. 26; Gospel xxii. 22. μετὰ παρρησίας, ii. 29: see iv. 29, 31; xxviii. 31; the usual phrase in the New Testament is ἐν παρρησίᾳ, or παρρησίᾳ. ὑπάρχω for εἶναι, ii. 30. δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ii. 38, or τοῦ θεοῦ: see viii. 20; x. 45; xi. 17. ἐπ' ἀληθείας, x. 34: see Gospel iv. 25; xx. 21; xxii. 59. διαμαρτύρεσθαι, x. 42: see viii. 25; xviii. 5; xx. 21, 23, 24; xxiii. 11; xxviii. 23; Gospel, xvi. 28.

Again: Peter could not have used the phrase τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν (i. 20), because he himself was speaking in Aramaean; nor could he have appended the explanation of the Aramaean word *Aceldama*. And yet the nineteenth and twentieth verses are presented as a part of Peter's address. We are aware that some expositors attribute them to Luke, as do Rosenmüller, Heinrichs, and Olshausen; while others, as Kuinoel, assign the nineteenth only to the evangelist. But the οὖν of the eighteenth verse connects it closely with the preceding one; while the γάρ of the twentieth refers to what precedes *it;* and the καὶ of the nineteenth attaches itself to the eighteenth. Thus the entire connection of the two verses is against the view of their being taken as a parenthetic insertion by Luke himself.

It is possible, however, that Peter himself may have used those very words, where they are put into his mouth, in such cases as he spoke in Greek; for there is nothing uncommon in two authors or speakers employing identical words and phrases quite independently. But there are circumstances *outweighing the probability* of coincidence in the cases just specified. *Favourite* terms and expressions of Luke are most apt to have been transferred to the apostle.

But although Luke puts into the mouth of some speakers various terms and idioms identical in meaning with their own words, though different in form, it cannot be supposed that they are inapposite. They are equally appropriate and expressive as the the original ones. They accord with the fidelity of the report given; for the qualities of truthfulness and fidelity do not depend *essentially* on the words used being exactly the same. *The spirit and soul* of their reproduction is not bound down to unalterable terms. Their authenticity is not deteriorated because the mere form of the thoughts uttered may be slightly varied in some instances. The discourses are *authentically* recorded because the doctrinal ideas and linguistic peculiarities of the speakers are still preserved. Their authenticity indeed would be seriously endangered, if De Wette and others were right in holding that there is much which is unsuitable in the speeches as Luke reports them, both in relation to the materials and mode of expression. But the examples adduced to justify this view may be objected to with reason.

Thus, for instances of *the unsuitable* in subject-matter we are referred to i. 18, etc. 22; v. 36; x. 28, 37; xiii. 39; xvii. 31; xx. 25; xxvi. 20; and in phraseology to xviii. 6; xx. 26, 27;[u] but in these cases our interpretation differs from that of the learned critic. Our *subjectively* differs from *his*. The point in debate is one of *exposition*, and we conceive it possible to give such an explanation of the passages as to make them *perfectly suitable*. Nor is it merely *possible* to do so. The *readiest* exposition renders them most appropriate in all respects.

It is also objected to the proper fidelity of the discourses that they exhibit a recurrence of the same ideas and turns of expression, as in ii. 25, etc. comp. xiii. 34. ii. 39, iii. 25, etc. comp. xiii. 26. iii. 18, comp. xiii. 27. iii. 17, etc. comp. xvii. 30. v. 20, comp. xiii. 26. x. 40, comp. xvii. 31. i. 8, 22, ii. 32, iii. 15, v. 32, x. 39, 41, comp. xiii. 31. i. 10, 16, ii. 14, 22, iii. 12, v. 35, vii. 2, xiii. 16, 26, xvii. 22, xxii. 1.[x] Without stopping to canvass the perfect propriety of each passage we remark, that the general argument founded on them all does not militate against the historian's fidelity, or the authenticity of the discourses he reports. When the nature of the truths which filled the speakers' hearts is considered along with the position in which they were placed, and the circumstances affecting them, it will not seem strange that they gave utterance on many occasions to the same thoughts; or that those thoughts assumed a similar shape. The apostles and apostolic men who appear before us in the book of Acts believed the same truth, and therefore they spake. They had one Lord, one faith, one baptism—one living fountain to fill and refresh their souls. How then could they have refrained from giving utterance, occasionally at least, to the same ideas, in analogous phraseology? The fact in question is not proper evidence against *the exactest truthfulness* in the report of such speeches. On the contrary, it has an opposite bearing. It serves in our judgment to confirm the authenticity of the historian's exhibition of them.

(*b*) Are the discourses presented in all their fulness and integrity?

Here it will be sufficient to state generally the result of indi-

[u] Exegetisches Handbuch on Acts; third edition, p. 11, 2 b.
[x] Ibid.

vidual examination. Internal evidence shews, that most of them are extracts or summaries. Thus Paul's discourse at Athens is obviously given in full only at the beginning. The manifestation of Christ in the flesh is hinted at, and immediately after, his rising from the dead is spoken of. Something intermediate must be omitted. Stephen's address is cut short by the rage of the Jews; but still it is probable that portions have been passed over, because, as it now stands, the general applicability of it is not apparent. If indeed he had been allowed to finish his narrative, an application may have been added which would have made the whole clearly apposite to the purpose of his defence; but even in that case there is difficulty of conceiving how he could have made it available, unless some things have been omitted in its present state.

In this way we might go over all the discourses of the apostles and apostolic men recorded in the Acts, for the purpose of pointing out the complete or abridged condition of each. But the process is not necessary, because the careful reader may discover for himself the state of each. And he will find, with a very few exceptions, that they are not given entire, being either broken off at a certain point, up to which they must be deemed entire, or condensed and curtailed in a particular method.

It is almost superfluous to observe, that such procedure on the part of Luke does not detract from his fidelity as a writer, or from the authenticity of the discourses presented. They are truthfully exhibited in accordance with his purpose, and with the sources whence they were derived. The want of completeness may be probably ascribed to both these causes.

If the preceding observations be correct, it will follow, that Stier[y] has carried out his ideas too far in endeavouring to shew the most regular, exact, and appropriate arrangement throughout every discourse recorded in the history. He introduces into them too much of a logical method which had been previously elaborated in his own mind. Regarding them, as we do, as mere summaries or abstracts, they cannot be treated in a manner so artificial without some degree of violence; and we are persuaded,

[y] Die Reden der Apostel nach Ordnung und Zusammenhang ausgelegt. 2 Theile.

that the speakers themselves did not intend to *dispose* them in every case as this esteemed writer supposes. In a somewhat similar way does Luger[z] err occasionally, in his masterly treatise on Stephen's address.

5. The preface of the Gospel favours this view. That preface belongs both to the Gospel and to the present work, which are parts of one whole—the first and second divisions of one history. If then, as has been already explained, Luke availed himself of written documents in the former, it is probable that he did so in the latter.

The separation of the two in the canon constitutes no good objection to this view of the preface to the Gospel. It is favoured also by the words *τὰ πεπληροφορημένα ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα*, which cannot well be restricted to a mere biography of Jesus. Had Luke intended to have described the object of the *Gospel alone* in those terms, they would have been less ambiguous. In that case, he would have expressed himself much more clearly, affirming that he was about to write concerning the doctrines and deeds of Jesus.

We are aware that to this opinion respecting the intimate connection between the Gospel and Acts, many adverse considerations have been stated, especially by Schneckenburger. But his reasoning has not convinced us of the propriety of separating the two books into distinct treatises. In one respect he has the advantage over Hug and Credner, who argue from the beginning of Acts compared with the termination of the Gospel, that Luke intended to continue the history. As to the rest, his arguments are not conclusive, however ingenious they may appear. Thus he lays stress on the fact, that the commencement of the Acts is not a *simple continuation* of the closing part of the Gospel, but that verses 1 - 14 are an amplified edition of xxiv. 50 - 53, and the narrative is not *continued* till 1, 15, etc.

We are not aware of any advocate of our hypothesis who contends for *a mere continuation*. There was a little interval between the time of writing the Gospel and the Acts. They were not written continuously, at the very same period. Had they been

[z] Ueber Zweck, Inhalt, und Eigenthümlichkeit der Rede des Stephanus.

so, we should have expected a *simple continuation*, and Schneckenburger's reasoning would then have been valid; but according to the real circumstances of the case, his argumentation may be readily answered. In resuming the thread of the history, the evangelist repeats and enlarges a few particulars stated at the end of the Gospel. Surely this was quite natural, after the lapse of two years.

But our critic proceeds farther, maintaining that there is not only a repetition, in a more copious form, of what is narrated at the end of the Gospel, but a *material difference*, a difference exalted by Strauss into a *contradiction*. We hold, on the contrary, that the difference is not *substantial*, far less *contradictory*. When closely examined, its alleged importance disappears. It is based on erroneous interpretations. The most important divergency, in Strauss's opinion, is in Luke's statement of the time: "for in his Gospel, as in Mark, *we are left to infer* that the ascension took place on the same day with the resurrection; whereas in the Acts it is expressly remarked, that the two events were separated by an interval of forty days."[a] But a careful comparison of one part with another, in the twenty-fourth chapter of Luke, will shew the error of this inference. So far from the account being favourable to the idea of the resurrection and ascension happening on the same day, it indicates the very opposite. Thus, in the twenty-ninth verse, we find the two disciples, whom Jesus joined on their way to Emmaus, saying: "Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent;" to which Luke subjoins, "and he went in to tarry with them." Now the events related immediately after must have occupied some time; so that, even if we suppose them to have occurred in *immediate succession*, it is *impossible* that Jesus could have led his disciples out as far as to Bethany on *that selfsame day* and ascended to heaven. Thus Strauss's *contradiction* is easily disposed of. Hence it is needless to refer to Schneckenburger's important points of difference, indicating, as he and Strauss think, other and better information that had come to the knowledge of Luke in the interim between the

[a] Life of Jesus, English translation, vol iii. p. 391.

composition of the Gospel and that of the Acts. No *contradiction* no *important* or *essential difference* between the portions in question, can be *proved.* It may be *asserted;* but *assertions* are worthless, *in the absence of all evidence or probability.*

In examining the prologue of Luke i. 1 - 3, Schneckenburger explains the πεπληροφορημένα ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα, *the things which are most surely believed among us*, to refer to the λόγοι ἐν οἷς κατηχήθης, i. e. the life and doctrines of Jesus. He thinks that the *terminus ad quem* of the παράδοσις, *the tradition* of *the eye-witnesses* and *ministers of the word* cannot be extended further than the resurrection and ascension of Christ; or, in other words, farther than *the things which are most surely believed among us.* We are reminded of the applicability of the word πεπληροφορημένα to *the life of the Messiah*, which was a fulfilment of the eternal counsels as well as of the ancient promises. All this is plausible. But it is a mere arbitrary assumption to confine the πράγματα πεπληροφορημένα ἐν ἡμῖν to the λόγοι subsequently mentioned. That the one is just co-extensive in import with the other is merely asserted. Surely the former seems to be more comprehensive than the latter. The word πεπληροφορημένα d not mean *fulfilled*, as Schneckenburger supposes, but *fully es lished* or *confirmed*, and is as applicable to the Acts as to Gospel.

Again: it is affirmed by the critic, that the prologue make distinction between Luke himself and *the eye-witnesses and mi ters of the word;* whereas in the history he was both an e witness and minister himself. We can readily imagine that events to be narrated in the Gospel were more before his mi when he spoke of eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, and himself as having traced every thing accurately from the co mencement. The one however does not *exclude* the other. was an eye-witness and minister of the word in part; and, the same time, he traced up all things with accuracy to the source.

It is useless to ask, where is there the least trace in antiquity early *written digests* of the events narrated in the Acts who existence is implied in the prologue? That the smallest trac

of them cannot be found does not disprove their having ever existed.[b]

On the whole, we must believe that Luke had some idea of writing more than what is contained in his Gospel, when he penned the prologue to it. He had reference to events subsequent to Christ's ascension, though he did not finish the history at once.

As to the number or character of the documents used by Luke in the composition of the Acts, nothing certain or even probable can be known of them. The point belongs to the region of speculation. Yet the region, though shadowy, has been particularly explored by a recent writer. But after perusing his book, one is inclined to wonder at the amount of time and ingenuity expended on a matter of so little utility. Schwanbeck is confident that he has thrown considerable light on the sources. His confidence however is not likely to attract sympathy. It is only necessary here to mention the *results* at which he arrives, by a curious process of anatomy which can dissect a subject in the *most arbitrary* way, because subjective caprice is allowed free scope in *creating* what is called *evidence*. But that which is termed *evidence*, turns out to be no evidence at all.

The first document used was the *Memoirs of Silas*, i. e. a record of events connected with the spread of Christianity composed by Silas. *Secondly*, a *biography of Barnabas*, consisting of five fragments, viz. iv. 36, 37; ix. 1-30; xi. 19-30; xii. 25; xiii. 1—xiv. 27; xiv. 28—xv. 4. *Thirdly*, Stephen's address.

In working up these materials, the unknown editor, who lived much later than Luke, abridged, inserted, and altered with tolerable freedom, so as to adapt them to the purpose he had in view.

The refutation of this view would simply consist in opposing *subjectivity* to *subjectivity*, in the absence of all external evidence.

It need scarcely be stated in conclusion, that *written* materials were not *the only* source of the evangelist's information. Of many events described, he was himself an eye-witness. From Paul also he learned not a little. Probably too some of Paul's companions furnished information.

[b] See Schneckenburger ueber den Zweck, etc. p. 7, et seq.

Many have thought that the works called the *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, and *πράξεις Πέτρου* (which were different),[c] belonged to the written documents used by Luke. But that is certainly incorrect. They must have been of later origin.

In this manner we suppose that Luke had no written sources in the second part of the history, with the exception of the commencement, xiii. 1—xiv. 28, which indicates its derivation from a special document. But in regard to the first twelve chapters he used *written* sources, Aramaean and Greek. In addition to them he may have received oral accounts from Paul, James, and the elders of the church at Jerusalem (xxi. 18), Silas (xv. 22 - 32 : see xv. 40—xvi. 40), Philip the deacon (xxi. 18), John Mark (Col. iv. 10, 14). Credner thinks that he got by far the greater part of the information contained in the first twelve chapters from John Mark. But this view is improbable. Feilmoser[d] and Schneckenburger[e] suppose that he was mainly indebted to Philip the evangelist for the earlier history. Supposing him, however, to have followed Philip's information closely, the passage viii. 39 would scarcely be in its present form, as De Wette observes. Schneckenburger lays far too much stress on xxi. 9, for the purpose of shewing Luke's connection with Philip's family. Any minute attempt to ascertain other sources than the *written* ones and *Paul's oral communications* must be largely *conjectural*.

II. Credibility.

The credibility of the book is strongly attested by its internal character and form. The speeches in particular form a powerful proof of the historic truth belonging to the events with which they are intimately connected. A close examination of those discourses furnishes most satisfactory evidence of their authenticity; and consequently of the accuracy of the history with which they are interwoven. Thus the discrepancies between statements made by Stephen and the Mosaic history are allowed to remain. Had not the historian been perfectly honest and simple-minded in his pur-

[c] See Credner's Beiträge, p. 348, et seq.
[d] Einleitung, § 52. [e] Ueber Zweck, u. s. w. p. 161, et seq.

pose, it is not likely that he would have narrated Stephen's address as it is. Since it was the discourse of an uninspired man, there is no necessity to find a satisfactory explanation of its difficulties. The circumstances in which Stephen was placed, the excitement of his feelings, the enmity of his opponents, may well have disturbed his mind. Hence there are various instances in which his words do not correspond with the Mosaic history. There is no doubt that Luke must have seen the discrepancies, and thought perhaps of the stumbling-block they might prove to many; but yet he presumes not to alter or amend. Rather than violate truth, he records the unfavourable.

And then the coincidences between the Acts and the Pauline epistles bear witness to the same fact; for it need not be stated how the epistles agree with the book before us in all the particulars on which both speak. There are no *real* discrepancies, but, on the contrary, such substantial correspondence as might be expected from independent writers, each narrating the same things in his own manner, and with different objects in view. The success with which Paley has explored this field, is too well known to need description. *He* has placed it in the clearest light, and thereby vindicated the credibility of the Acts as well as of the epistles. Let us briefly collect the passages in which the two sources touch on the same things more or less fully, and mutually illustrate one another.

We shall take the epistles in the common order, for convenience sake.

Romans i. 13; xv. 23. When Paul wrote the letter, he had a desire to visit Rome in person. Compare Acts xix. 21, where the same apostle, on his third missionary tour, has the same longing.

xv. 30. Paul expresses his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem. Compare Acts xx. 22, 23, where, about the same time, he gives utterance to similar fears.

xv. 25, 26. When Paul wrote the letter to Rome, he was about to go to Jerusalem with contributions collected in Macedonia and Achaia. Compare Acts xxiv. 17 - 19, where he says in his defence before Felix, that after many years of absence, " I came to

bring alms to my nation and offerings." Compare also Acts xx. 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4; 2 Cor. viii. 1-4; and ix. 2.

xvi. 3, etc. When Paul wrote, Aquila and Priscilla were at Rome, and had a church in their house. Compare Acts xviii. 23, 18, 26.

xvi. 21. Paul sends salutations to Rome from Timothy, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater. Compare Acts xx. 4, where Timothy and Sosipater are mentioned among Paul's companions in Greece.

In passing to the first epistle to the Corinthians, it will be necessary to bear in mind that it was written from *Ephesus*.

1 Corinthians	i. 14-17: compare Acts	xviii. 8, and Rom. xvi. 23.
	iv. 11, 12	xx. 34.
	iv. 17-19	xix. 21, 22.
	xvi. 1	xviii. 23; xix. 1.
	xvi. 5	xix. 21.
2 Corinthians	i. 8: compare Acts	xix. 23, etc.; xx. 1.
	ii. 13; vii. 5; ix. 2	xx. 1.
	ix. 4; x. 11; xiii. 1	xx. 2.
	xi. 32, 33	ix. 23, 25.
	xi. 9	xviii. 1, 5.

The epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were sent from *Rome* at the same time.

Colossians	iv. 10: compare Acts	xxvii. 2.
Philippians	i. 1	xx. 4, 6.
	iv. 10	xx. 6, and xvi. 1-3, 12.
1 Thessalonians	i. 5, etc.: compare with Acts	xvii. 4-11.
	ii. 2	xvii. 5.
	ii. 18	xvii. 5, etc. 15.
	iii. 1-7	xvii. 14-16; xviii. 5.
2 Thessalonians	iii. 2	xviii. 12, etc.
Philemon, verse 24		xxvii. 2.

In consequence of the great diversity of opinion respecting the time and place at which the epistles to Timothy and Titus are supposed to have been written, the argument need not be encumbered with them.

The coincidences just given may be drawn out and increased by a discriminating use of Paley's Horae Paulinae. In all cases it can be shewn satisfactorily, that neither the writer of the history copied from the author of the epistles, nor *vice versâ*. The coincidences are *undesigned*, as a close inspection of their nature clearly evinces.

But notwithstanding the convincing nature of the evidence in favour of the credibility, it has not appeared satisfactory to *all*. It has been variously *assailed*. Preceding critics however were moderate in their attacks, compared with Schrader[f] and Baur. In the hands of the latter, the work is reduced substantially to fiction. It is deprived of historic truth and reality. As in the Gospels, so in the Acts, this Hegelian divine carries out with bold consistency the subjective principles of the school to which he belongs, till the New Testament canon is reduced to a very small thing.

More conservative theologians are of course less adventurous. *Their* exceptions to particular parts of the history deserve attention, because they are more likely to be sympathised in. We take De Wette as their representative, and shall allude particularly to his remarks on the subject.

And here it should be noticed that the second part of the book escapes with less animadversion than the first, because most of it proceeded from an eye-witness, and therefore it bears on the face of it the genuine stamp of history. But as the writer was chiefly indebted to tradition for the first part, exceptions have been taken to various particulars in it, which not having been taken from a first source, are supposed to be less correct. An unhistorical character, betraying a writer remote from the scene of the history, is declared to belong to them. And even the first part of the book is thought to contain statements which do not agree with the idea of their being written by an eye-witness.

Inexplicable difficulties, it is alleged, are contained in ii. 4, etc., vi. 1, etc.

The former passage describes the effect of the company being filled with the Holy Ghost, so that they all began to speak in

[f] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. v.

other tongues. It is not surprising that such interpreters as exhibit an invincible repugnance, or a lingering unwillingness to admit the doctrine of miracles, find difficulties in the New Testament history. But it is unadvisable on the present occasion to canvass the various theories in which German writers not recognising the miraculous in this event, have freely but foolishly indulged. The *obvious* explanation of the phenomenon is that which assumes a miracle. The speakers became able on a sudden to use other tongues than their vernacular ones, so that their words became intelligible to strangers, whose languages they used without having gone through the process of learning them. It is astonishing to find the difficulty which such men as Bleek, Neander, and Julius Müller discover in this view. It is true that the adjective καιναῖς, *new*, is not joined with γλώσσαις, *tongues;* but surely ἑτέραις, which *is* put with the noun, means *others* in addition to their own vernacular tongue. The ἑτέραις γλώσσαις is equivalent to καιναῖς γλώσσαις, as Mark xvi. 17 shews, whether that portion of Mark be authentic or not. The meaning attached to the expression *other tongues*, in the earliest times, was *new tongues* or languages, such as the speakers did not know before. Some of the evangelical men who suppose that the persons said to speak in other tongues uttered *the same language substantially* in a variety of ways, or dialects, or modes of pronunciation, concede that the account given by Luke favours *the supernatural*. But instead of readily adopting the miraculous, they venture to impugn the historian's statement, affirming that it is not *very accurate*. We venture to assert, that the writer of the Acts believed that he was recording a miracle, and that the Christians of that time so understood it.

The latter passage refers to the sudden deaths of Ananias and Sapphira. Those deaths were caused by the Deity as a direct punishment for sin. They were judicially inflicted, and served as a fearful warning to the living. It has been asked, Was such severe punishment necessary? Could the Holy Spirit, in conformity with his character, thus cut off sinners in the midst of their iniquity? Did Christianity need such aid to establish it in the world? Was it not cruel in the apostle to cause the husband

to be buried so soon, that even the wife of his bosom did not know of his death till he was laid in the ground? Such questions however are of no avail in shaking the credibility of the narrative. In the peculiar circumstances of the Christians at that period—in the infancy of the new religion—it is not unreasonable to look for peculiar phenomena—for unusual measures and means to promote it. Were *we* of the present day perfectly acquainted with *all* the circumstances of the case, we should be right in asking such questions as those suggested; but as we cannot pretend to a knowledge of the entire case of Christianity at its commencement, it is our duty to wave such questions, and receive the narrative simply as it is.

"Such severity in the beginning of Christianity," says Benson, "was highly proper, in order to prevent any occasion for like punishments for the time to come. Thus Cain, the first murderer, was most signally punished by the immediate hand of God. As was Sodom and Gomorrah, which were in the early ages distinguished for their filthiness and abomination. Thus upon the erecting God's temporal kingdom among the Jews, Nadab and Abihu were struck dead for offering strange fire before the Lord. And Korah and his company were swallowed up alive by the earth, for opposing Moses the faithful servant of God; and the two hundred and fifty men, who offered incense upon that occasion, were consumed by a fire which came out from the Lord. And lastly, Uzzah, for touching the ark, fell by as sudden and remarkable a divine judgment, when the kingdom was going to be established in the house of David, to teach Israel a reverence for God and divine things. Nay, in establishing even human laws, a severe punishment upon the first transgressors doth oft prevent the punishment of others, who are deterred from like attempts by the suffering of the first criminals. And the effect in the present case was accordingly: for a great dread and unusual awe fell upon all the Christian Church; and not upon them alone, but upon all others also, who saw or heard of what had happened; so that no more hypocrites dared to join themselves to the Christians, merely with a view to share in the community of goods, lest they should fall under the fate of those two notorious dissemblers. Though (probably) without such a seasonable detection

and severity, they would in a short time have been crowded and overrun with such impostors." [g]

As to the natural explanations given by Heinrichs and others, they must be pronounced inadmissible. There is no use in reviving them, as Neander and Olshausen have done, for the purpose of proving that the natural will go very far at least towards the solution of all difficulties connected with the event. The simple question is, whether it be possible to satisfy *all the conditions* of the case, and to explain *the whole narrative*, by the aid of the natural alone. It is possible that Ananias may have died from the effect of sudden terror, or from apoplexy, induced by the position in which he found himself all at once; but then the equally unexpected death of his wife takes place just as Peter foretold it, a circumstance contrary to the interpretation in question. It is impossible to account for *all* the phenomena without calling in the aid of the supernatural at *some* point of the transaction; and we agree with Baur in objecting to such modes of considering it as Neander and Olshausen adopt. "It is clear," says that writer, "that if so great weight be laid on the natural causes which Neander and Olshausen exhibit, as that an occurrence quite natural can be imagined in the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the true point of view is hereby completely deranged. What could only have been an intermediate and secondary cause is illogically converted into the principal cause. An intervening cause is introduced, of which the narrative says nothing, because the writer was very far from the idea of wishing that what he relates as a miracle should be accounted even a second time, a natural occurrence." [h] The supernatural alone agrees with the words and design of the historian, as also with the genius of the infant religion.

Examples of *the exaggerated* are supposed to be furnished by ii. 45; iv. 34.

The view presented in the former of these passages is, that the primitive believers, in the ardour of their first zeal, sold their goods so freely for the purpose of distributing to the poor, as far as there

[g] History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion, etc. vol. i. p. 105.
[h] Paulus, der Apostel, etc. p. 27.

was need, that they might be said to have all things common. The historian expresses the principle of their liberality strongly, because it was remarkably exemplified. It is not meant that they adopted the absolute principle of a community of goods as the basis of their social system, for that is contradicted by v. 4; xii. 12. The title to property was not vested in the Church. It was still held by individuals.

In iv. 34, which relates to the same subject, it is said, that *as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them*, i. e. as far as there was any occasion.

Luke's language in these passages, if taken literally and pressed, apart from the connexion and other places, is capable of an *exaggerated* meaning. But if it be fairly viewed in the light of other passages bearing on property, it yields a rational sense. The *exaggeration* is *put into* the historian's statements by the interpreter urging them beyond their proper limit. It is not inherent in them.

An instance of the *incorrect* is said to be in ix. 19, etc. compared with Galat. i. 17, etc. Here indeed there is a difficulty; but Baur goes much too far in elevating it to the height of an *irreconcilable contradiction*. With some degree of reason does Schneckenburger suppose, that the historian's account presents no suitable point for the insertion of the journey to Arabia, and that therefore it was probably unknown to the evangelist.

Among all the proposed places of insertion, we prefer that which takes the phrase ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, *many days*, to include the few days the apostle spent in Damascus immediately after his conversion, and the three years, or nearly so, of his subsequent sojourn in Arabia. The objections made to this view by De Wette and Baur are of no force. Thus the phrase is affirmed to be an *unsuitable designation* of a period extending to three years. In answer, we refer to a passage in the Old Testament, in the first book of Kings xi. 38, 39: "And Shimei dwelt at Jerusalem *many days:* and it came to pass at the end of *three years*, that two of the servants of Shimei," etc. This appears to be a complete parallel; the *three years* and the *many days* being identical. But it is alleged, moreover, that the 26th verse is inconsistent with the supposition of an interval of three years or nearly so: "And when

Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple." How could this be possible, it is asked by Baur, if more than three years had elapsed since the apostle's conversion? Damascus did not lie far from Jerusalem, and it is scarcely possible that the news of so important an event could not have already reached the latter place. But we are informed that he spent his time in *solitude* in Arabia. After remaining but a few days in Damascus, he withdrew into the desert country, where he remained in seclusion for a considerable period; during which the recollection of his few public appearances in the synagogue at Damascus had probably passed out of the recollection of the Jews. But on his reappearance there he was soon remembered, and speedily obliged to escape from the city. Nor could there have been much intercourse between the Christians of Damascus and Jerusalem in their circumstances at that period. The Jews of the two places had communication with one another; but the Christians were possessed of little power, and jealously watched by their enemies. It is therefore quite possible that the Christians at Jerusalem may have been unacquainted with Paul's conversion, or at least suspicious of its reality, at the time specified.

It is apparent, that Luke writes continuously as if the journey to Arabia had not happened, and there is an awkwardness in inserting it in any part of his narrative; but he may not have known that it took place; or it was not needful for his purpose to speak of it. But he does not commit an error because he omits it. There is no *contradiction* between Paul's own statement and his. Had the writer of the Acts been such as Baur represents him, he would have avoided the incongruity by mentioning the journey. The fact that Luke does not speak of it is favourable to the credibility of his history, and to the honest simplicity of his purpose in writing the book, as long as there is not a *positive contradiction*. And that there is such a discrepancy can never be *proved*.

Instances of *the doubtful* are said to appear in xi. 30; xii. 25. In these passages the second visit of Paul to Jerusalem is referred to. But, according to De Wette, Credner, and others, it could

scarcely have taken place, because of the Galatian epistle (i. 21), in which there is not the least intimation of it. Hence it is supposed that Paul went to Judea, and Barnabas alone to Jerusalem; or that Luke's account rests on an erroneous foundation.

It is true that the apostle omits all mention of the journey in question in the epistle to the Galatians; but it is exceedingly arbitrary to doubt or deny its existence on that account. There was no necessity to speak of it. It did not belong to Paul's purpose in the epistle. He wished to shew the Galatians that he did not receive his Gospel from *man* but from *God*. Accordingly he selects the only visits to Jerusalem at which it might have been inferred that he was instructed by apostles in the gospel he preached. In such circumstances, his *first* visit could not be omitted, because he was then comparatively a novice; nor could his *third*, at which there was a consultation among the apostles. But his second might be passed over, because it was an eleemosynary one and of very brief duration.

The words of ix. 30 are declared *unsatisfactory*, because they do not mention Paul's efforts to spread the gospel in Cilicia, a fact that must be inferred from xv. 23, 41. Luke is often very brief, giving no information on points where it would have been most welcome to after ages. We fear, that if all ancient historians were tried by the same rule, the charge of unsatisfactoriness might be justly advanced against innumerable statements they make.

Marks of *ignorance* on the part of the historian with Jewish history and customs are discovered in v. 36, etc. and x. 28.

In the former of these passages Gamaliel mentions one Theudas; while, according to Josephus, Theudas was twelve years later than the event referred to in the Acts. Hence Luke is supposed to have fallen into an anachronism. Here the fact is worthy of notice, that the mistake is not placed to Josephus's account, but to Luke's; as if the former were undoubtedly right, and the latter as undoubtedly wrong. But the Jewish historian is by no means free from blunders. We think it most likely that there were two persons of the name of Theudas: one in the time of Augustus, referred to in the Acts, and the other later, of whom

Josephus speaks. No valid objection can be urged against this opinion, as if it were improbable in itself.

Another passage to which exception has been taken is in x. 28, where it is pronounced *inconceivable* how the law prohibits a Jew to keep company with or come unto one of another nation. Granting that it is contrary to do so in the case of idolaters, it is inexplicable how it could be so with reference to persons called *σεβομένοι, devout*, as Cornelius was. Even the stricter Jews could hardly have avoided intercourse with the latter; since in that case they could have made no efforts for their conversion. Such is De Wette's argument.

Ebrard answers this by the aid of the passage xi. 3, where Peter is blamed because he *had eaten with* heathens. Hence he thinks that *κολλᾶσθαι* is merely a general expression for the special complaint brought against Peter that he *had eaten with* heathens, which act was contrary to the Mosaic law. But De Wette objects to the validity of the answer, with apparent reason.

Perhaps the epithet *ἀθέμιτον* may be explained, with Selden,[i] of the Gentiles' uncleanness, because they did not observe the Mosaic regulations respecting issues of blood. Thus all the peculiarities objected to by De Wette are capable of an explanation consistent with the perfect credibility of the narrative.

We shall now furnish *a specimen* of Baur's peculiar objections to the credibility of the Acts. It is not needful to go fully into his mode of reasoning throughout, because it is too extravagant to obtain much currency in any land.

The cases in which the apostle is said to have preached to the Jews *first*, cannot be brought into harmony with the strict line of separation drawn by himself in the epistle to the Galatians between his *ἀποστολὴ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη* and the *ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς*. Such cases too are highly improbable in themselves, when the narrative in Acts xxviii. 17, etc. is considered. Here the writer of Acts, under the influence of a peculiar apologetic interest, gives a representation, which it is impossible to reconcile with the true state of things.[k]

[i] De Jure, n. et g. p. 176.

[k] Der Apostel Paulus, pp. 373, 374.

According to the Acts, it was Paul's custom to preach first to the Jews in every place whither he went; and if *they* did not receive the gospel, he turned to the Gentiles. Is this contrary to the words of the apostle, where he regards himself as the apostle *of the Gentiles*, while Peter acted in the same relation towards *the Jews?* We think not. For,

It is most unreasonable, as well as arbitrary, to assume the existence of *such* a separating line as would *confine* the one to the Gentiles, the other to the Jews. The two divided the missionary field between them: so that the one was to preach among Gentiles, the other among Jews. The latter was to remain generally in Palestine, or in such lands as were inhabited for the most part by Jews; the former was to labour in heathen countries. That the apostle did not mean to say that he should preach to *none but* Gentiles, is manifest from his own words, in Romans i. 16, ix. 1, etc. Thus neither had *exclusive* charge of one or other of the two great departments of evangelical work. The one was to preach *chiefly* among the Gentile nations; the other *principally* among the Jews. Peter was the instrument of the Gentiles' first admission; and there is no reason whatever for imagining that he was afterwards excluded from the work of bringing the same people into the church of God.

We shall now glance at the case recorded in xxviii. 17, etc., which by a strange process is thought to render all analogous cases equally improbable and incorrect as itself.

Three days after Paul's arrival at Rome he called the chief of the Jews together, and explained his position to them. He told them that though he had committed nothing against the people or customs of his fathers, he was delivered prisoner into the hands of the Romans, who, after examination of him, would have let him go. But when the Jews opposed his liberation, he was constrained to appeal to the Roman emperor. He tells them that he had nothing to accuse his nation of, and had therefore sent for them to explain the circumstances in which he was placed; and that it was solely his belief in the hope of Israel—the Messiah—which led to his being bound with the chain they saw. Their reply was, that they had not received letters out of Judea concerning him, nor had any of the brethren that came spoken any

harm of him. But they expressed, at the same time, a desire to hear his sentiments; for they knew that the sect to which he belonged was everywhere spoken against.

According to Baur's view of the epistle to the Romans, the church at Rome consisted *almost entirely* of Jewish christians. How then was it possible that, on Paul's arrival, the elders of the Jews there could say with truth, they knew nothing of the Roman church?

Olshausen, who first directed attention to the passage, understands it as saying that the Roman christians were entirely unknown to the elders of the synagogue.[1] Assuming the correctness of this explanation, Baur justly argues, that the latter could not but have known of the existence of the Roman church, and even of more than its existence.

We shall proceed on the principle that the chief men of the Jews were sincere in what they said to the apostle. Those who think that they dissembled on the occasion, and spoke what they knew to be untrue, get rid of the difficulty at once. But we do not feel safe in adopting their view, notwithstanding the weight of authority connected with it.

First. We shall endeavour to shew hereafter, that the church at Rome did not consist almost exclusively of Jewish christians, as Baur supposes. We believe that *the majority* were Gentiles. But whatever was the composition of the church there, the main thing to be attended to is, that the Jewish elders do not at all represent themselves as being ignorant of its existence. They knew that the sect of the Christians was everywhere spoken against; and of that sect the Roman christians were a part.

Secondly. Many considerations unite to render it probable that these Jews knew *little* of the church at Rome. The extent of the city, the number of its inhabitants, the occupations of the Jews, their isolation from other religionists and exclusive spirit, combine to shew the truth of the statement, that they knew little about the Christians.

Thirdly. The leading Jews do not say to Paul that they knew no more of the sect to which he belonged than the bare existence of

[1] Der Brief an die Römer, Einleitung, p. 48, et seq.

it, and the fact that it was every where opposed. They state the fact of its opposition as a reason why they desired to hear the apostle's sentiments. They were willing to receive information about it, from one who had just stated that he was bound with a chain for *the hope of Israel*. That they speak of *this sect*, after Paul had alluded no farther to Christianity than mentioning *the hope of Israel*, shews that they knew something more about it than its mere existence.

Fourthly. It is not stated in the narrative, that the apostle turned to the Gentiles because the Jewish elders rejected the gospel on this occasion: "And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not." Hence the writer of the Acts did not fabricate the circumstance, that the Jews put away the gospel from them, for the purpose of introducing, in a proper manner, the turning of the apostle to the Gentiles.

Again: Baur is not the first who regards the words of ix. 7 as inconsistent with those of xxii. 9. But he puts the contradiction forward in a very confident way, unlike to that of a true inquirer. "The words ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς," says he, "are manifestly a falsification by tradition, which confuses the history; and the apostle's own narration (xxii. 9) must be preferred to it without hesitation."[m] Where is the falsification? In xxii. 9, it is said that Paul's companions did not *understand* the voice of him that spake to him. In ix. 7, they heard a voice or sound, but not articulate words which they could understand.

In taking leave of this topic, we hesitate not to assert that the idea of the book being fabricated by a later unknown writer, with whatever motive he set about the task, involves *the improbable*, not to say *the impossible*, at every step. The fabricator must have had the Pauline epistles before him, and studied them with the most minute attention. After becoming intimately familiar with their contents, even to the smallest and apparently the most unimportant particulars, he sat down to write in such a way as to incorporate many notices derived from them with his materials. Here he needed consummate skill, lest the deception should be detected. The art demanded for the work was of the most refined

[m] Der Apostel Paulus, etc. p. 76.

and exquisite nature. Where did such a man appear in the early times of Christianity? It is impossible to point to a phenomenon so marvellous as this. The wakefulness and talents of the person who palmed the history on his own generation as the authentic production of Paul's companion, must have been extraordinary. Not so constructed are the forgeries of that period. They are clumsy and inartificial. They have therefore been detected long ago by the test of fair criticism. But the book of Acts has stood this test, unshaken. It was reserved indeed for Hegelianism to expose its alleged pretensions: a species of hypercriticism which would soon reduce the genuine histories of all antiquity to nonentities or forgeries. But we are confident that the credibility of the Acts will be universally acknowledged long after the negative criticism has vanished away like every temporary extravagance of unbridled reason, or rather of unbridled scepticism.

If there were the least prospect of Baur's opinion regarding the Acts becoming current, we should refer the reader to Kling,[n] who has satisfactorily exposed and refuted the attempt to give the history a *mythic character*, or in other words to reduce it to an *apologetic fiction*.

III. Time and Place.

It is evident that the book was written after the Gospel (comp. i. 1). The narrative closes with the captivity of the apostle Paul in Rome, without being continued to his death. It seems likely, therefore, that it was composed in the second year of that captivity, probably about two years after the Gospel, or A. D. 63.

We have already attempted to shew that the Gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. So also must the Acts. Without pronouncing on *the certainty* of the writer referring to the city's overthrow, had that event already taken place, it is *likely* that there would have been *some allusion* to it. The book may indeed have been composed *after the apostle's death*, but *before* the catastrophe of Jerusalem; yet the writer in that case would scarcely have failed to speak of Paul's subsequent fate, either

[n] Studien und Kritiken for 1837, Heft. ii. p. 290—327.

his liberation from captivity or his death. We know that Schneckenburger [o], who dates the composition after his decease, but before the overthrow of Jerusalem, endeavours to account for the omission by attributing it to an *apologetic* motive on the part of the historian, agreeably to the *general object* assigned by the critic to Luke; but it is difficult to reconcile the omission even with this opinion. For Luke to have related the apostle's martyrdom would have tended to the latter's honour, and have coincided exactly with the sentiments of Schneckenburger regarding the apologetic tendency of the whole book.

On the whole, it appears most likely that the history was written during the captivity with which it abruptly closes. Hence the sudden termination of the book is easily accounted for, events having then proceeded no further.

We are aware that the abrupt ending is explained in other modes. Thus Hug [p] attributes it to the fact that Paul's fate was already known to Theophilus. But that proves too much; for, on the same principle, many things specified in the course of the history might have been omitted. De Wette [q] again thinks that the evangelist stopped where he did, because the command of Christ (i. 8) and the promise given to the apostle (xxiii. 2) were accomplished by Paul's arrival in Rome, and his preaching there; and thus the plan proposed to himself by the historian was completed. But it is more than doubtful whether these two passages indicate the writer's *specific* plan, or *the exact compass* to which he meant to carry his history. As we understand them, they contain nothing incompatible with a further relation of Paul's personal history up to the period of his death. Surely they might stand as pertinently in connection with ulterior statements, as they now do in connection with the simple mention of Paul's two years' residence in the capital of Italy.

Schrader accounts for the omission by conjecturing that it would have been most critical for a Roman christian to have spoken about Nero's persecution. Though this is plausible, yet it

[o] Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgesch. etc. p. 227, et seq.

[p] Einleit. in die Schriften, d. N.T. vol. ii. fourth edition, § 80, p. 263.

[q] Exeget. Handbuch, i. 4.

may be doubted whether it was sufficient to deter Luke from finishing the history; because Paul's death might have been related without mentioning Nero.

The only passage which can be supposed to indicate the time when Luke wrote, is viii. 26. It is well known, however, that the last clause is difficult of explanation. The pronoun αὕτη is of doubtful reference. By supposing it to agree with ὁδός, which we do, the verse ceases to have any bearing on the time when Luke wrote. But Hug, Meyer, and Schneckenburger refer the pronoun to *the city* Gaza, not to the *road* towards it. In the latter case, the condition of it is alluded to a short time before the siege of Jerusalem, when the Jews, in revenge for the massacre in Caesarea, laid waste a multitude of cities and villages, among which was Gaza.[r] Thus the passage fixes the time of writing a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, which must have been after Paul's death. It is better however to make αὕτη agree with ὁδός, and so the words cease to be of any use in the question before us.[s]

The place where it was written was, according to the preceding remarks, Rome, whither Luke accompanied Paul. The minute allusions to the geography of the neighbourhood of that city in the last chapter, have been thought to favour this supposition. But they are not *conclusive*, because they may have been inserted with reference to Theophilus, or Roman readers. The position of the reader or readers will explain them as well as the locality of the writer. If however, as has been stated already, Luke brought down the narrative to the time he wrote, Rome has the best claim to be considered the birthplace. This too was the opinion of Jerome in ancient times, derived by inference from the conclusion of the book.

Mill[t] looks upon Alexandria as the place of writing; but that hypothesis is not at all probable. Others have fixed upon other places, according to their ideas of the locality in which the Gospel of Luke was composed.

[r] Hug's Einleit. vol. i. pp. 19, 20.

[s] See Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 640, et seq.

[t] Prolegomena in N. T. p. 14 (121).

IV. Genuineness and Integrity.

All the phenomena and facts which bear on this point are favourable to the opinion that the book is *substantially* in the same condition as that in which it proceeded from the author. No material corruptions or alterations have been made in it. But the testimonies relating to its integrity are comparatively few in number. The extant works of the Fathers do not contain many quotations from it. The book was not much read in the early churches. Chrysostom says that it was entirely unknown to many Christians. They were neither acquainted with the book, nor could they tell who its author was. Olshausen, however, looks on this language as *rhetorical exaggeration*, because the book was read regularly, between Easter and Whitsuntide, in the Greek church, and also in Africa. This opinion is much more probable than that of Jones, who thinks that the book on the Acts attributed to Chrysostom was not his own work.[u] The reason why it was so much neglected cannot be certainly ascertained. It may have been owing to the fact that it is not *immediately* occupied with Christ himself and his teachings; or that it was not written by an apostle. Yet it can scarcely be imagined that the latter consideration operated with injurious effect against its authority or importance, because *the Gospel* of Luke was not undervalued on account of the same authorship. It is certain, that the contents of the history did not attract so much attention or interest as other parts of the New Testament canon; and therefore, the public reading of it was little thought of. The early Christians esteemed it less, not because they doubted its apostolic foundation or divine basis, but because the contents so far as known were thought to be of less importance than those of the Gospels and Epistles. It is occupied with subjects of less intrinsic value, although it forms a most important link of connexion between the Gospels and Epistles.

Supposed quotations and allusions are given by Jones and Lardner, from Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin

[u] On the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 116, 117.

Martyr, and Tatian. But we do not venture to adduce them, because they are doubtful. The resemblance is not so great as to justify their being called *quotations*, or to prove that they were taken *directly* from the Acts. They may be *allusions*, and probably are so; but *allusions* prove nothing.[x]

Irenaeus *certainly* quotes the history, as a passage already given from the third book against Heresies expressly shews. Nor is this the only place, for immediately after he cites Acts xx. 17, etc. "In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinaret Hierosolymis Pentecosten agere, multa testificatus eis, et dicens quae oporteret ei Hierosolymis evenire, adjecit (Paulus): '*scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam*,' etc."[y]

"When the bishops and elders who belonged to Ephesus and other neighbouring cities were called together at Miletus, since Paul himself was hastening to keep the Pentecostal feast at Jerusalem, he testified many things to them, and, telling them what should befal him at Jerusalem, added: 'I know that ye will see my face no more,' etc."

The Christians of Vienne and Lyons, in their letter to the churches of Asia, write: *Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ἠύχοντο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς· Κύριε μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην·*[z]

"They prayed for those who were so bitter in their hostility, like Stephen, that perfect martyr. Lord lay not this sin to their charge." (Acts vii. 60.)

Tertullian says: "Adeo postea in Actis apostolorum invenimus, quoniam qui Joannis baptismum habebant, non accepissent spiritum sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem noverant."[a]

"So that afterwards we find, in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who had John's baptism had not received the Holy Ghost, nor so much as heard whether there was any." (Acts xix. 1, 2, 3.)

It is a remarkable fact too, that Lucian in his Philopatris, alludes in mockery to Paul's discourse at Athens; especially to

[x] See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. ii. § 153.
[y] Adv. Haeres. lib. iii. c. 14, § 2.
[z] Ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 2.
[a] De Baptismo, c. 10.

the expression, *the unknown God*, which the apostle saw inscribed on an altar.

These early testimonies need not be followed farther. It will be seen, that they are favourable to the genuineness and integrity of the book.

No interpolations of any length or consequence are found in the text, as we now have it. The most considerable are viii. 37; and ix. 5, 6, from σκληρὸν to αὐτόν inclusive; xxiv. 6, 7, 8, from καὶ κατὰ into ἐπὶ σέ inclusive, which the best editors and critics uniformly expunge from the text. Probably the twenty-ninth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter should be added, though there is less certainty about it.[b]

But though the text be *substantially* pure, great liberties were taken with it in primitive times. No book of the New Testament has suffered more from arbitrary caprice. Perhaps it was so treated, for the most part, by such parties as endeavoured to lessen Paul's authority—by heretics rather than the catholic church. Hence the text needs critical revision still, even after the important labours of Griesbach, Lachmann, Rinck,[c] and Bornemann. De Wette's commentary has great merit in settling the true reading. The Greek text, as it appears in the MSS. D. E., and as represented in the old Latin and Syriac versions, has been most tampered with. From whatever cause the fact has arisen, they are full of strange peculiarities, generally in the shape of additions and explanatory notes. There can be little doubt that the early *Lectionaries* or *Praxapostoli* constituted an abundant source of the mistakes which crept into MSS. But we cannot enter at present into a detailed description of the corruption of the text. Nor is it necessary, after the clear and able summary which Eichhorn has given.[d]

[b] See Bornemann's Note in the work entitled, "Acta Apostolorum ab Sancto Luca conscripta ad Codicis Cantabrigiensis Fidem, etc. p. 235.

[c] Lucubratio critica in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Catholicas et Paulinas, etc. pp. 43 - 94.

[d] Einleit. in das N. T. vol. ii. § 154.

V. Leading Object of Luke in writing the Book.

The evangelist's object in writing the Acts has been variously represented. Nor is this surprising, for all will admit that it is not easily discovered. The only way in which it can be ascertained is by looking at the disposition as well as the details of the history, and thus consulting Luke himself. Two extremes are to be avoided, into which many in fixing the writer's object have unconsciously run.

1. Some attribute their own subjective views, or the subjective views peculiar to the later times of Christianity, to the historian. This arises from want of carefully observing *the point of view* in which alone the Christian history of that early time can be surveyed with truth.

2. Others represent the object so partially as to rob it of all respect to the instruction of future ages.

Under the former head may be classed Hänlein, Michaelis, Schneckenburger, Baur, etc. Under the latter, Heinrichs, Kuinoel, Hug, and others. The former view partakes of the *artificial;* the latter, of the *trivial.* The former errs by *excess;* the latter, by *defect.* The former frequently mistakes the consequence for the cause; the latter, in deteriorating the cause, fails to perceive the disproportion between it and the consequence.

Let us see whether it be possible to throw any light on the subject from Luke's own statements. In his preface to the Gospel, he affirms by implication, that he meant to write about τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πεπληροφορημένα πράγματα, *the things that have been accomplished among us.* In his preface to the Acts, he affirms that he had written in the Gospel *concerning the things which Jesus said and did,*—an expression which does not at all exhaust the sense of τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πεπληροφορημένα πράγματα. The πρῶτος λόγος, or Gospel, *the first part of the entire work*, describes *what Jesus did and taught;* and as the δεύτερος λόγος, the Acts, or *second part*, does not carry on the sayings and doings of Jesus on earth, it must refer to *what his disciples did and taught.* Hence the history is occupied with the doings and sayings of those who, after their Master's ascension, carried forward the religion he came to estab-

lish among men. The growth of Christianity, from the ascension of Jesus up to a certain point, is described in this δεύτερος λόγος. In this manner, it would appear that the evangelist's object was to furnish a record of the early proceedings of Christ's followers in regard to the diffusion of divine truth. It is needless to speculate on the ideas of the writer as to the bearing of his work on future ages. It cannot now be ascertained, whether the thought of writing for the Christians of all succeeding times constituted an essential element in his purpose. Nor is it of especial moment whether such were the case. He wrote under infallible guidance. It was the design of Him whose influence was exerted on the writer, that the history should serve to direct all Christians in matters pertaining to the constitution of churches. The principles and precedents adduced were meant to regulate, inform, and interest the followers of Christ at all times. Here we see how Christianity was diffused. We observe the instruments God employed in its establishment. The difficulties opposed to that instrumentality are set forth. Its early triumphs are brought before us in instructive detail. In these and other respects the history is fraught with practical interest to every Christian.

1. If *Luke's* object in writing were simply such as has been stated, it will be apparent that the opinions of many critics respecting it are not correct. Thus Michaelis[e] affirms, that Luke had a twofold object in view, viz. First, To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent miracles performed by the apostles, by which the truth of Christianity was confirmed. Secondly, To deliver such accounts as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admission into the church of Christ.

In like manner Hänlein,[f] adopting substantially the same opinion, says, that the general design of the author of this book was, by means of his narratives, to set forth the co-operation of God in the diffusion of Christianity, and along with that to prove, by remarkable facts, the dignity of the apostles, and the perfectly equal right of the Gentiles with the Jews to a participation in the

[e] Introduction translated by Marsh, vol. iii. p. 330.

[f] Einleit. in die Schriften des N. T. vol. iii. pp. 156, 157.

blessings of that religion. Here what was a consequence of the evangelist's object is converted into the object itself. His narratives *do* set forth the co-operation of God in the diffusion of Christianity; they *do* prove the perfectly equal right of the Gentiles with the Jews to a participation in the blessings of that religion; but it is incapable of proof that such was *the writer's leading design*. Our own inference from the character of the narratives must not be attributed to the author, *unhesitatingly*.

Schneckenburger goes much further astray. According to him, the author wrote with an *apologetic* design. He meant to produce a work which should be a defence of the apostle Paul, in relation to his apostolic authority, his personal and apostolic conduct, particularly as the advocate of the Gentiles against all the attacks and objections of Judaists. Hence he supposes, that in the two parts of the Acts, viz. i.—xii. and xiii.—xxviii., the idea of a parallel between Peter and Paul lies at the foundation of the history. In the one, Peter is made to appear like Paul as much as possible; in the other, Paul is made to appear like Peter. In this way, the evangelist refutes the partisans of Peter who depreciated Paul. In conformity with the view in question, Stephen, in the first part, is exhibited as *the prototype* and *forerunner* of Paul. All the omissions in the history are explained on this hypothesis, while the various narratives are shewn to be subservient to it. But the critic's ingenuity has misled him. Luke's history so explained becomes an artificial thing. The simple historian is converted into a different person from what he really appears. His *subjectivity* is metamorphosed into a far-seeing element, leading him to cast the entire history into a peculiar mould which acute criticism alone can detect. We cannot suppose therefore, that the leading design of Luke was of this nature. It does not explain many phenomena. Things related as well as things omitted are not always in coincidence with it. Some of them are directly adverse to it. Thus,—

Theophilus was a Gentile: why then was an apology intended for Judaisers dedicated to him? Here is something inapposite.

The most unnatural forced constructions are resorted to for the purpose of bringing every thing into consistency with it. And yet not a few resist the process. For instance: chapters i.—vi.

xii. can scarcely be cramped into the narrow purpose made for them. Their import is manifestly general. Neither are the following passages, which De Wette points out, suitable to the object assigned: xvii. 16 - 34; xviii. 24 - 28; xiv. 1 - 7, 20 - 28; xvi. 5 - 8, 14, etc.; xviii. 23; xix. 22; xx. 1 - 6, 13 - 15; xxi. 1 - 3.

As the greater number of all erroneous opinions contain a certain amount of truth, this of Schneckenburger is not entirely devoid of it. Because the evangelist was a disciple of Paul, he has selected out of the early history of Christianity such facts as relate mainly to that apostle. Hence the book may be looked upon in the light of an historical commentary on the fundamental positions laid down by Paul himself: "The gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; *to the Jew first*, and *also to the Greek;*" "*For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek;* for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." The evangelist was an adherent of Paul, and has narrated the most important facts in the life of him with whom he had the honour of being associated; but in describing the efforts of the early followers of Jesus to spread Christianity throughout the known world, he could scarcely have avoided giving great prominence to the apostle of the Gentiles. In any case, Paul must have occupied a *conspicuous* position in the history, because he was more abundant in labours than all the rest. A *true narrative* must necessarily have presented him as *the chief* missionary. But because he is so described, we ought not to suppose that Luke wrote with an apologetic design in his favour.

Baur of Tübingen, to whom Schneckenburger was indebted for the main idea of his hypothesis, or rather perhaps to Griesbach,[g] followed by Schmidt,[h] who may have suggested it to both, has gone far beyond the latter. *He* does not hesitate to carry out the view to what he considers its legitimate extent, and in so doing brings down the time when the book was written to the second century. He makes use of the apologetic design, with which the

[g] De Consilio, quo Scriptor in Act. Apost. concinnandis ductus fuerit.
[h] Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das N. T. vol. i.

history is said to have been written, for the purpose of undermining the historic truth and credibility of the entire book. We plead no apology for not entering at length into a description and refutation of Baur's hypothesis. When De Wette calls it *destructive criticism*, *we* may much more characterise it as such. When *he* reckons it superfluous to refute it, because its own extravagance does that; much more may *we* deem it a work of supererogation. It is a monstrous piece of excessive hypercriticism, *distorting* a history which bears on its face the stamp of the simple, the truthful, the natural.

2. Kuinoel, after Ziegler and Heinrichs, thinks that Luke wrote for the sake of Theophilus, the adverse or prosperous things which had happened after Christ's ascension, in connection with the cause of Christianity, in order that he might have at hand a commentary to recall the past to his recollection. Similar is the view taken by Hug. This falls far *below* the entire object. It is true that the evangelist wrote for Theophilus *in the first instance;* but it is wrong to imagine, that the personal instruction or gratification of an individual was *all* that he intended. *The immediate occasion* of writing should not be converted into *the leading design.* The writer had a higher object. His work was to be preserved as a part of the sacred collection, for the permanent benefit of all ages. Hence the history must not be shrivelled up into the lean form to which Kuinoel and his class would reduce it.

VI. Plan of the Work.

The plan and disposition of the history are connected with the leading design. Repeated perusals of it leave the impression that the evangelist had no *definite, comprehensive* plan in his mind, when he began to write. A well-arranged systematic scheme did not enter into his thoughts at the commencement. His view was simpler. His mental constitution was not philosophical, in the modern sense of the word. He put together the materials he had, without designing to present them in the form of a compact, comprehensive treatise, where every part should be nicely adjusted in its relations to all the rest. Accordingly, the want of prag-

matic connection between various sections is apparent. The materials are loosely put together. The only indication of a guiding principle which the writer had in view is in i. 8: "and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Agreeably to such intimation, the progress of the gospel in Jerusalem and all Judea is first described, i. 12—viii. 4; then in Samaria, viii. 5 - 25; and the rest of the book is occupied with the extension of the same to Gentiles as well as Jews, terminating with the apostle Paul's abode in Rome, the remote west. In exemplifying the general statement made at the commencement, there is no regular or strict adherence to it in all the details of the history; so that it is impossible to explain, by means of i. 8 alone, why some things are related and others omitted. Such as try to find a reason for every section and minute particular in *any specific object* attributed to the evangelist, or in *any definite plan* followed, will be disappointed. Account as we may for his narrating the very things he has given, and his omitting such as are passed by, the means and sources of information at his disposal must be regarded. Above all, the superintendence under which he wrote, whether that of the infallible apostle with whom he was associated, or that of the Spirit, or both together, cannot be safely neglected; for it seems hardly possible to explain satisfactorily the insertions and omissions of the history, without reference to such guidance.

VII. Chronology.

The materials of the book are manifestly disposed in *chronological* order, though the author does not mark times or dates. When he alludes to time, he does it so indefinitely, that no exact point for reckoning can be derived from it. He often speaks of *days*, seldom of *years*. Thus we meet with such expressions as, *ἡμέραι αὗται, ἱκαναί, τίνες; χρόνος ἱκανός, οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἐνιαυτὸς ὅλος*, etc. These notices are more frequent in the latter part of the history than the former, because the writer was an eye-witness of events after he became associated with Paul: comp. i. 3; ii. 1; and xiii. 15, 42, 44; xiv. 20; xvi. 11, etc. xvii. 2; xviii. 11, 18;

xix. 10; xx. 3, 6, 14, etc.; xxiv. 1, 27; xxv. 1, 6; xxvi. 27; xxviii. 1, 11, 12, 13, 17, 30, etc.

The death of Herod Agrippa is the only event in the book that can be determined with certainty, viz. in A.D. 44. From this point we may reckon backward to the beginning, and forwards to the end. The evangelist commences with the Pentecost, which took place ten days after the ascension of Christ; from whence the events are narrated in chronological succession. But the section contained in viii. 4—xii. 23 is *synchronous*. Between the commencement of the history and Herod's death, *i. e.* i. 1—xii. 23, most important events took place, viz. the death of Stephen and conversion of Paul. How long that interval was, cannot be determined with exactness, because the Saviour's ascension is fixed in different years by different chronologists, varying from 29, as Ideler supposes, to 33 of the common aera, as Eusebius held. After Herod Agrippa's death, the apostle Paul becomes the prominent topic to the end of the book, which concludes with the third year of his captivity at Rome. Thus the entire history embraces a period of about 33 years. The events serving as chronological landmarks are, Stephen's death, Paul's conversion, death of Herod, famine in Palestine in the time of Claudius, banishment of the Jews from Rome, Gallio's proconsulship at Corinth, Felix's procuratorship of Judea, and Festus's coming into his place. We shall treat of the chronology afterwards, in connection with the life and labours of the apostle Paul. At present, it is necessary only to allude to it.

VIII. Language.

The dreams of Bolten, Harduin, and Black, respecting the original language of the Acts, are now forgotten. That the book was translated from the Aramaean, or that it appeared originally in Latin, is utterly inconceivable. All quotations in it from the Old Testament are from the Septuagint version.

The characteristics of style and diction have been already given under the Gospel. The perceptible difference too, between the former and latter portions of the history, has been adverted to in a preceding section, and an explanation of it offered.

IX. Contents.

The book is divisible into two parts, viz. i.—xii. and xiii.—xxviii.

The former may be subdivided into i.—vii. and viii.—xii.

In i.—vii. is an account of the doings of the church at Jerusalem after Christ's ascension; in viii.—xii. the general history of Christianity in Judea after the dispersion of the believers from Jerusalem.

In xiii.—xxviii. we have the personal history of *Paul;* whereas in the preceding part *Peter* is the prominent apostle.

We need not stop to point out smaller sections, especially in i.—xii. They are marked by pauses and transition passages.

From this summary of contents it is evident, that the title *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, or as D. has it, *πρᾶξις ἀποστόλων*, is not well selected. It is ancient, however, though it did not proceed from the evangelist himself. The apostles Peter and Paul are the only ones of the twelve who are prominent in the history, John and James being merely mentioned incidentally. The title therefore is too *comprehensive* an index of the contents. It is also too *narrow*, because accounts are given of individual teachers of Christianity who were not apostles. Thus in vi. 8—viii. 1, Stephen is introduced. In viii. 5 - 40, Philip's proceedings are described. In xi. 19 - 30, other preachers are spoken of. Many parts relate to the spread and establishment of Christianity, the organisation of churches, etc., which have no immediate reference to apostles. Thus the title, however ancient, is not the most appropriate. It is not easy indeed to find a single term quite pertinent.

THE EPISTLES.

THOSE writings which have assumed the epistolary form embrace the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles; the former, proceeding from *one* apostle; the latter, from Peter, James, John, and Jude. Among the Pauline may be included, for the sake of convenience at present, the Epistle to the Hebrews. With this class our inquiries are now immediately connected.

The Epistles of Paul may be divided into those addressed to churches, and to individuals. Three of the latter are commonly termed *pastoral*, because they have special reference to pastoral duties. Schleiermacher has proposed another classification based on *the nature* of epistolary writing, and having respect to the mode of such compositions at the commencement of the Christian era.[a] It is too capricious, however, to be fitted for general adoption, being based on certain subjective ideas which may not commend themselves to all. Every kind of classification, indeed, must be more or less arbitrary; for the epistles cannot be grouped strictly under different heads.

The most natural arrangement is *the chronological.* They should be treated agreeably to the order of their dates, as far as that can be determined. This is the way in which we should have preferred to consider them, had not the common order been so generally established in MSS., versions, and editions, that practical inconvenience arises from deserting it. Originating, as it evidently did, in arbitrary ideas of the importance of the parties addressed in the epistles, or of the places to which they belonged, it might be discarded with advantage. It is by no means the best that can be adopted. In the most ancient MSS., too, it is not wholly followed, for the Epistle to the Hebrews came *before* those to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon.

Fourteen epistles, including that to the Hebrews, were written by the apostle of the Gentiles. It will be less embarrassing to the reader to follow the received order; but at the end of the

[a] Einleitung ins Neue Testament, § 37.

entire discussion we shall give the chronological succession, as nearly as it has been determined.

Before proceeding to Paul's *writings*, let us look at the life, character, and education of the great apostle.

According to an ancient tradition preserved by Jerome,[b] the birthplace of the apostle Paul was Giscala, a city of Galilee. This, however, must be false, as it contradicts the apostle's own statement. He was born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, of Jewish parents belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. It has been supposed by some, that Tarsus possessed the immunities and privileges of Roman citizenship, because Paul relates that he was by birth a citizen of Rome. But the narrative does not justify this opinion. It is fairly deducible from the record, that the city itself did not enjoy the honour. The language of Paul himself in Acts xxi. 39, and xxii. 24, 25, addressed to the chief captain, is scarcely consistent with the hypothesis. Neither do the brief notices of Tarsus, contained in the works of Dio Chrysostom,[c] Appian,[d] and Pliny,[e] when rightly understood, afford any support to the assumed fact; for though Augustus had made it a free city (*urbs libera*), and bestowed on it certain privileges, it does not thence follow that its inhabitants possessed the same honourable birthright with the citizens of Rome. The apostle's parents must therefore have had the privilege for some other reason than the fact of their being born in Tarsus. What it was, it is now impossible to discover. It has been conjectured indeed by Grotius,[f] that it had been conferred on some of Paul's ancestors for services rendered to the commonwealth during the civil wars; and by Deyling,[g] that his parents had purchased the immunity; but in the total absence of evidence, these suppositions can be regarded in no other light than mere assumptions. His father belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, and trained up the son in the strict principles peculiar to it.

He received from his parents the name שָׁאוּל, Saul. As to the origin of the appellation, it is possible, as Neander con-

[b] Catal. illustr. Vir. c. 5.
[c] In Tarsica posteriore, t. ii. p. 36, ed. Reiske.
[d] De Bell. Civ. lib. v. c. 7.
[e] Nat. Hist. v. 27.
[f] Ad Act. xxii. 28.
[g] Observatt. Sacrae, p. iii. observ. 40.

jectures,[h] that he may have been a long-desired son, the child of many prayers; and that therefore it is derived from the verb שָׁאַל, to ask. It is difficult to tell when and why *Saul* was changed into *Paul*. The latter name occurs first in Acts xiii. 9, at which time he had set out on his first missionary journey. Hence it is likely that the appellation was adopted in connection with the purport of that tour. We do not think it probable, that he changed his name in remembrance of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, whom he was the means of converting. The position and true sense of the clause Σαῦλος δὲ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, are alike opposed to the idea, though it is adopted, after Jerome, by Bengel, Olshausen,[i] and Meyer. Chrysostom[k] thinks, that the Holy Spirit gave a new name to Paul, to signify his dominion over him, just as the master gives a new name to the slave he has purchased. In this manner the appellation is a mark of ownership. The conjecture is fanciful, and has also against it the consideration, that the name was not altered immediately after his conversion. The eloquent father replies, indeed, that the change of name did not take place immediately after his conversion, because it would not in that case have been so extensively known that he was the same Saul who once persecuted the church: but the reply is far-fetched. Ammon[l] thinks, that, like other converted Jews, he changed his name with his faith. It appears to us most likely, that, after the manner of other Jews, he had two names. When he began to labour among the heathen he dropped the Jewish one, and made use of the Roman, which latter soon became the sole appellation, from his labouring among the Gentiles. Such is the view of Alting, Drusius, Lightfoot, Hammond, Wolf, Schrader, Winer, and De Wette. Others suppose that *Paul* was a softened form of the Hebrew name, given by the Romans, as *Jesus* was altered into *Jason*, *Dosthai* into *Dositheus*, *Silvanus* into *Silas*. This opinion is advocated by Grotius and others.

As to his *relatives*, he had a sister whose son is favourably

[h] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 138.

[i] See Commentar. on Acts, xiii. 4-12.

[k] Opp. ed. Montfaucon, vol. iii. p. 110.

[l] On Romans, i. 1.

spoken of by the uncle when the latter was a prisoner at Rome. This son appears to have embraced Christianity before the apostle. Whether Andronicus and Junias,[m] whom he styles his συγγενεῖς, were *relatives*, or merely *fellow-countrymen*, has been disputed. Probably Lardner is correct in thinking that Paul must have meant by the word something more than *countrymen*. So also Herodion, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater (Romans xvi. 7, 11, 21).

It need scarcely be stated, that he was never married (1 Cor. vii. 7; ix. 5). The early tradition[n] that he was married, evidently arose from a misunderstanding of the latter passage.

At an early age he was sent to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel, a celebrated Jewish teacher and member of the Sanhedrim. At what period of his life he was placed under the tuition of the Rabbi in question cannot be exactly determined. Eichhorn[o] and Hemsen[p] suppose that he was about thirty years of age. But this allows too short a time between his going to Jerusalem and the martyrdom of Stephen. It necessarily implies, that little influence was exerted over him by the education received in the school at Jerusalem; a supposition opposed to the prominent characteristics of his mind, as they appear in his writings. Besides, as Tholuck has well remarked, the words of the apostle himself are adverse to the view in question (ἀνατεθραμμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ), "*brought up* in this city," (Acts xxii. 3).[q] More probable is the opinion that he was about twelve years of age, when his regular Jewish education commenced in the capital. This allows a considerable number of years for his abode in Jerusalem, during which his mind must have been largely moulded by the nature of the training to which it was subjected.

But although the youthful Saul was designed by his parents for a learned profession, probably a doctor of Jewish law, he was taught a trade at home, as was customary among the Jews. By

[m] Chrysostom, Grotius, and Fritzsche think that *Junia* was the wife of Andronicus.

[n] Clemens Alex. ap. Euseb. iii. 30.

[o] Einleitung in das Neue Testament, vol. iii. p. 9.

[p] Der Apostel Paulus, u. s. w. p. 6.

[q] Vermischte Schriften, zweyter Theil, p. 273.

this means he supported himself afterwards, at least in part, while labouring in the gospel. The nature of his mechanical employment can only be learned from the single term σκηνοποιὸς, which is somewhat ambiguous. Thus Luther translates it *carpet-maker;* Michaelis[r] and Hänlein, *mechanical instrument-maker;* while the fathers explained it by σκυτοτόμος, *worker in leather*, though Chrysostom, who employs this synonyme, has also σκηνορράφος, *sewer of tents.* But as tents were made of the hides of beasts, it is easy to see that σκυτοτόμος and σκηνορράφος equally meant *tent-maker.* Hug[s] and Eichhorn are probably right in rendering the word, *maker of tent-cloth.* The best modern critics concur in this explanation. A kind of coarse goats' hair was very common in Cilicia, being manufactured into thick cloth called *cilicium*, or *cilicia.* It was chiefly used for shepherds' and war-tents, but also for ships. Doubtless this was the material on which Paul, as a native of Cilicia, was principally employed; though in other lands he would have to manufacture tent-cloth from the materials at hand.

It was the natural effect of his pharisaic education, that Paul should be zealous in upholding the law of Moses. And to be zealous in this respect, was almost tantamount to hating the new religion which presented so much antagonism to it. Accordingly, the vigorous minded Pharisee makes his first appearance in the sacred narrative as engaged in the persecution of the early believers. When the first martyr Stephen was stoned, he is described as *a young man* looking on with satisfaction at the murderous deed, and keeping the garments of the witnesses engaged in it. The precise age denoted by νεανίας, a young man, is doubtful. It is pretty certain that he could not have been *more* than thirty, else the term was unsuitably chosen. And he could not have been much *less* than thirty, because the Jewish rulers reposed so much confidence in him as to furnish him with authority for carrying on the work of extermination against the Christians. He had attained an age in which he had procured the regard of the Sanhedrim. After this event, he prosecuted

[r] Introduction to the N. T., translated by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 183, et seq.
[s] Einleit. vol. i. p. 281.

the business of persecution not only in Jerusalem, but throughout Judea. Nor was his furious zeal circumscribed even by Judea. It carried him beyond its confines. He obtained letters to the Jews of Damascus from the Sanhedrim, empowering him to bring captive to Jerusalem any who had embraced the new religion. Furnished with such authority, he set forth on his mission accompanied by a few companions; thinking, doubtless, that he should highly commend himself to the divine regard by the extent of his exertions in a cause so dear to his heart. But the Most High had other purposes. The persecuting blasphemer, whose very name had become a terror to the converts, was to be a distinguished example of sovereign grace. His overflowing zeal was to be effectually directed into a new and holy channel, whence the world should derive unnumbered blessings. A new epoch in his life was approaching. Henceforward his character and conduct were to be emphatically transformed. As he was journeying to Damascus, and drawing nigh to the city, he was arrested in his course. A dazzling light suddenly shone round about him. So powerfully did it affect his person, that he fell to the ground. And then the voice of Jesus sounded in the ear of the fear-stricken persecutor, inquiring the reason of his maddening zeal against Christianity, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, who art thou Lord. And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: Arise and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do." It was no part of his character to hesitate. He was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. He arose and went to Damascus. But, as he had been blinded by the overwhelming splendour of the vision, his companions were obliged to conduct him into the city. There he spent three days and nights, without meat or drink, in an inconceivable state of mental distress, till Ananias was divinely directed to go and encourage him, to restore his sight, and baptize him into the name of Christ.

In explaining the nature of the preceding transaction, different views have been advanced. Some have tried to expunge the supernatural. Others firmly maintain it. Neander and Olshausen think it *possible* that it may be accounted for by the operation of natural causes; but believe it to be exceedingly *improbable*.

Assuredly the *improbable* rises to the height of the *impossible*. The *naturalist* interpreters indeed bring certain circumstances prominently into view as contributing to the inward change. The traveller to Damascus is represented as musing by the way on the mild disposition of Gamaliel. Weighty passages come up to his recollection. The doctrine, life, and conduct of the Christians are remembered. The image of the dying Stephen, whose countenance was illumined with the rays of incipient glory, presents itself to his excited spirit in vivid form. A struggle had been awakened in his breast. A conflict had taken place within him. The impression previously made, but forcibly repressed, was mightily increased by the recollection of these past scenes and circumstances, so that a very small external cause was sufficient to complete the mental process by effecting full conviction. An outward phenomenon *did* happen. As he journeyed in the narrow valley enclosed on either side by mountain ranges, lightning and thunder surprised him. He looked upon the appearance as an omen from above, and his excited mind, within which a conflict had been going on, found vent in a decided spiritual crisis. An entire change took place in his ideas and feelings. He turned at once and for ever to an opposite course of thought and action.

The *mythic* explanation proceeds farther than the *naturalist*. It disregards all the historical details of the narrative, resolving the entire transaction into an internal influence on the mind of Paul, which took the oriental form of a *theophany*. The strong impressions he had received from the infant Christian community carried an ardent mind, that had long striven against them, to a pitch of exaltation which ended in a *christophany* and an entire change of sentiment. Thus the objective is stripped off, leaving nothing except the crisis of an inward conflict in the fiery spirit of the apostle.[t]

Both explanations coincide in rejecting the external objective appearance of the real Christ, though the one tries to retain as historical the phenomena of the *light* and *voice*. Both resolve the entire transaction into the result of natural causes. The mythic, however, is the more consistent, because it fairly carries

[t] Strauss's Leben Jesu, vol. ii. pp. 633, 634.

out the naturalist principle to its legitimate result. If the objective appearance of the real Christ be denied, there is no reason why the other historical details, which have no better claim to objective reality, should be maintained. They too should be reduced to *the subjective;* or be regarded as the mere drapery of the narrative, serving no other purpose than the presentation of an idea in the exaggerated style of the Orientals.

Any explanation that resolves the whole into the effect of natural causes and influences is quite improbable. The fiery zealot had not embarked in the cause of persecution for the first time. He had been already engaged in it for a season. And the longer he was so employed, the less likely was it that he should be brought to an entire renouncement of his sentiments by natural means. He had been in some measure inured to the work. At the commencement of it, the revolution in question would have been easier, in the natural course of events. It is true that the forgiving love of Stephen was *fitted* to make a serious impression on the spectators; but furious enemies are not wont to be moved by the patient meekness of their victims. How often does the fanaticism of the former become wilder and less scrupulous, in opposition to the apparent helplessness of the latter. The change seems to have been *sudden.* Gradual preparation does not correspond to the character of the man. He was too impetuous at that time to be the subject of those influences which are arbitrarily assumed. He had taken a decided part in opposing Christianity. His fiery energy had been thrown into the work. He was not of a contemplative cast of mind, but bold and resolute in his measures. Such persons are converted by a powerful and sudden process. They are effectually changed *at once.* That Paul had been striving to repress an inward conflict between older and later impressions is utterly improbable. Hence we must look beyond *natural* means to the *extraordinary* and *supernatural.*

Those who take the latter view are divided in sentiment as to the real nature of the phenomenon, some believing that the whole was a *vision*, others that it partook of the *external* as well as the *internal.* Either view of the subject has several particulars in its favour. That it was wholly *subjective*—the Deity influen-

cing the apostle's spirit in an extraordinary mode, so that the appearance and voice of Christ were vividly revealed to the internal self-consciousness—may be inferred from the fact, that as the light shone round about him he fell to the ground and heard the voice. When he rose up, he found his sight affected. If therefore he saw and heard the phenomena as he lay on the ground, they must have been internal. But the participle of the aorist, πεσών, as Tholuck has well remarked, need not be restricted to *time*, as though it meant *after* he had fallen, but may equally refer to *mode*.[u]

Two circumstances in particular lead us to believe, that the external senses of the apostle as well as his mind were affected by the phenomena described. An impression was made on his companions by something external. They saw the light (Acts xxii. 9): they heard the sound (Acts ix. 7). Besides, Paul adduces as an evidence of his apostleship, *that he had seen Christ* (1 Cor. ix. 1). This was a qualification essential to the apostolic office. In *visions* he had seen and heard Christ on other occasions; but to constitute him a true apostle, Christ must have appeared to his external senses, as he was seen by the other apostles. This is the only recorded instance in which he could have *seen* Jesus Christ, after the manner of his brethren. The transaction was regarded by himself as outward; such was his calm belief in after years. Ananias's visit confirms this view. In short, the narrative is best explained by taking it in the literal sense. The supernatural is intimately connected with the apostle's conversion, nor can it be cleared away without distorting the description of it. We believe indeed that the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles would not be invalidated, either by the *natural* or *the mythic* explanation; but neither of them is so probable as the one they are adduced to supplant.

After his baptism, he remained *some days* (ἡμέραι τινές) in the fellowship of the disciples at Damascus. But he soon began to dispute with the Jews in the synagogues, and to declare that Jesus, whom he had before persecuted, was the Son of God, the true Messiah. He did not remain long inactive. He made his

[u] Vermischte Schriften, zweyter Theil, p. 291

appearance on the Lord's side as an altered character. His energetic mind burned to communicate truth to others. It is not surprising that the Jews were amazed when they saw the transformed Saul appear in their synagogues as an advocate of that very religion which he had notoriously attempted to crush. He had set out for Damascus to seize the despised followers of Jesus, and to take them bound to Jerusalem; but a voice from heaven had arrested him. A light had shone into his soul from the sanctuary of God, at once overpowering and enlightening it. He had become a new man. We are not informed of the *immediate* cause of his leaving Damascus. He departed and withdrew into Arabia. It has been inquired for what purpose he went into this region, or how he was there employed? Schrader,[x] Olshausen, and Burton[y] suppose that he retired thither to prepare himself for his future duties by solitary meditation. Musing apart, as they think, on the great mysteries of the gospel, he nurtured and disciplined his mind for the arduous trials through which the providence of God designed him to pass. The wild solitudes of Arabia were congenial to such inward communings. But Anger[z] and Neander object to this view. The latter thinks that if the writer had meant to intimate such a purpose, he would not have chosen the general designation *Arabia*, but have substituted for it ἔρημον Ἀραβίας, *desert of Arabia*, or simply ἔρημον, *desert*. In this way, the object of the apostle's journey would have been more distinctly marked. That consideration appears very slight in the view of Olshausen.

A full examination of the subject is connected with another point, viz. *when* "the gospel" was communicated to Paul? We know, from his own words, that the gospel he preached was not "after man." He neither "received it of man," neither "was he taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Galat. i. 11, 12).

Three aspects of the subject have been presented.

Some think that his illumination was *completed* on the way

[x] Der Apostel Paulus, zweyter Theil, p. 147.

[y] Lectures on the Eccles. History of the First Century; Theological Works, vol. iv. p. 89.

[z] De Temporum in Actis Apostolorum Ratione, etc. p. 123.

to Damascus, by the direct interview he had with Christ at that time. Thus it is not looked on as a gradual process, but as a revelation given fully and at once. The gospel he preached was divinely communicated at the time of his conversion.

Others regard his knowledge of the gospel as a thing which was not communicated to him fully and at once. They think that new and higher disclosures were made to him from time to time, according as there was need. At first, he received by inspiration *the substance* or *foundation* of the gospel he preached. He obtained the fundamentals of Christian doctrine by immediate revelation in Arabia; but they were enlarged by other supernatural disclosures. Those who take this view of the subject generally believe Arabia to have been the locality in which the foundation of what he afterwards terms his *gospel* was laid.

The subject may be viewed in another light. The *central idea*, viz. that Jesus is the true Messiah of the gospel may have been imparted at the time of his conversion; while successive revelations in Arabia, in connexion with solitary meditation, led him into the *entire* doctrinal creed which he afterwards preached. There *the gospel*, in the full compass and clearness belonging to his subsequent disclosures of it, received a permanent lodgment in his mind. There his doctrinal creed was *perfectly* formed.

A glance at these different views must suffice on the present occasion.

1. This opinion is perhaps the most common. It is apparently countenanced by Galat. i. 16: "When it pleased God *to reveal his Son in me*," etc. But the words in question are no proof of its truth, unless they be interpreted as synonymous with, "for I neither received it (the gospel) of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (ver. 12). It is not probable that both express the same idea. The twelfth verse is more comprehensive in meaning than the sixteenth. The latter is explained in part by Acts ix. 20, where we read: "And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God." During the days Saul was in Damascus, immediately after his conversion, he repaired to the synagogues and preached that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God, the true Messiah. He was firmly persuaded that Jesus was the Messiah. This was the

great idea which had been lodged in his soul at the time of his conversion; and which he forthwith declared in public. But there is no good reason for believing that *the entire gospel* was communicated to his higher self-consciousness at that time. God revealed his Son in him; but *the gospel* was not unfolded in the depth and height of its mysteries. One cardinal point was made known: he had seen "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ;" but other fundamental points, with which it is intimately associated, had not been brought distinctly before the soul of the apostle.

2. The second view is entertained by Tholuck. He believes that there was a definite time at which a certain *foundation* of Christian doctrine was communicated to Paul by revelation. After he had spent a few days in Damascus, during which he occasionally appeared in the synagogues to testify the alteration of his sentiments, he withdrew into Arabia; and on his return came forth with a doctrinal creed which subsequent disclosures extended.[a]

The following considerations are given by Tholuck for not *restricting* the higher disclosures made to the apostle to one definite period in his life. In the case of Peter, we see that he did not receive the necessary illumination till his contact with a heathen first required it. Should not the case of Paul be similar? Besides, were there not many church-relations, respecting which he needed afterwards a higher teaching,—one so far different from his existing views, that he must have reckoned his prior information *obscurity?* Must not therefore inspiration have imparted to him the necessary information in the case of that which he had to learn, just as a sudden inspiration furnished him with the required directions in relation to his external conduct, his journeys, etc. (Acts xvi. 6, 7, 9. Gal. ii. 2)? Certainly it must. As Peter, however, possessed, even at the time referred to, a certain fund of doctrine which was simply enlarged according to circumstances, the same thing is not excluded in the case of Paul, even if we say that new disclosures were made to him throughout his whole life.

[a] Vermischte Schriften, zweyter Theil, p. 293, et seq.

Much depends on the view taken of the *nature* of *inspiration*. Was it an uniform, steadily operating, supernatural influence to which the apostles were subject; or did it consist of divine impulses—illapses—that came upon them at times more or less vividly? The former is the only correct account of it. It was a brightening up of all the faculties to an unusual elevation, so that they uniformly and infallibly prompted such utterances relative to divine things as accorded with the will of the Most High. The influence from above, that acted thus constantly on the soul, exerted itself in perfect accordance with the usual operations of the mind. It formed a part of the inward man. It entered into the spiritual psychology. An apostle felt himself elevated by it at all times. He might as well have divested himself of his *apostolic character and authority*, as of it. It constituted an essential and primary element in his apostleship. Hence it was a power acting dynamically, not mechanically. Does Tholuck mean, that Paul acquired additional knowledge of *the gospel* he preached by revelations received at different times, *so that he attained to a clearer perception of its truth, reality, and extent?* Or is the hypothesis simply this, that, at a definite period of time, he was favoured with a distinct view of *all the revealed truth he ever taught;* though he had occasionally visions of unutterable things—glimpses of the glories pertaining to God and his kingdom, which, however important to himself, had no *essential* connexion with *the gospel as* preached by him. The latter can scarcely be all that is intended. If then the former be meant, it is scarcely borne out by Paul's writings; for it is impossible to prove by them a progressive enlargement or alteration of the peculiar doctrinal system he was led to publish. Usteri[b] has failed to substantiate the opinion, as Harless has shewn.[c] Equally impossible is it to prove that the mere foundation, or essential principles, of what he denominates *his gospel* were established within his mind at a certain time; while higher disclosures afterwards enlarged his knowledge of their relations, or brightened his apprehension of their reality. The circumstances mentioned by Tholuck are of little weight.

[b] Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs, etc.

[c] Evangelische Kirchenzeitung for 1834, No. 12.

No analogy from the apostles' external conduct can be appropriate, because inspiration was not an influence belonging to *actions*, so much as to *teachings* and *writings*. The apostles' *doctrine*, whether delivered *orally*, or *in writing*, was infallible; but their conduct was not so. It may be thought indeed by some, that as the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles at the day of Pentecost, and afterwards, did not remove all their erroneous conceptions; so Paul's knowledge of the principles of Christianity in all their clearness and extent was not given him at once. But the apostle of the Gentiles occupies a peculiar position, and must be judged of by himself. He was called to the apostleship in a peculiar way, and was more highly favoured with heavenly disclosures, about the time of his conversion, than any of his brethren. Besides, the earliest written epistles, compared with the latest, do not evince his superior knowledge or clearer perception, even of the things that may not be termed fundamental, much less of such as constitute the genuine basis of evangelical truth. Hence a calm consideration of the entire subject leads us to believe, that while there was a definite period in Paul's life, at which he received his gospel from above, he appeared, after the period in question, *fully* and *completely* possessed of it, in all the clear comprehensiveness with which he saw it at any subsequent time. These disclosures of the gospel were made during his residence in Arabia. On the way to Damascus, a sudden and violent revulsion had taken place in his ideas. Hence a calm interval was necessary for arranging them. The Old Testament, in its relation to Christianity, had to be studied. His mind had to be nurtured in the faith. New views were opened before it, which could not be followed out conveniently amid the agitation attendant on continual preaching and journeying, as well as the opposition of his countrymen. He was separated therefore from intercourse with men, even with Christians; that he might be prepared, irrespectively of human teaching, for the labours of his life. In Arabia, where he continued the greater part of three years, he meditated on the discoveries made to him. There he was largely favoured with divine disclosures. In that district, the doctrinal system, now denominated *the Pauline*, took

hold of his mind and heart. His own reflection, divinely influenced and furnished with heavenly materials by direct revelation, enabled him to come forth from his retreat perfectly qualified to unfold the gospel with a philosophical breadth and symmetry of which no other apostle was capable. Thus the *third* view, as already explained, commends itself to our approval. It does not however differ materially from the second, which Tholuck advocates with his wonted ability.

In Arabia, Paul was not a preacher of the gospel in the sense he himself afterwards attached to the expression, and indeed according to its proper acceptation. He went through a process of training there, for the purpose of preaching it. *It was revealed* to him in that place. *As soon as* he was fitted by special illumination and study for the business of preaching, he was prompted to come forth from his solitary retreat, in the complete armour of a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

After returning from Arabia to Damascus, he preached again in the synagogues. But the Jews soon became exasperated against him. Hence his friends were obliged to assist him in escaping by night. He was let down in a basket through the window of a house built against the city wall. Having thus eluded the vigilant enmity of his opponents, he went up to Jerusalem for the first time after his conversion, and three years subsequently to it, the greater portion of the "many days" (*ἡμέραι ἱκαναί*) having probably been spent in Arabia. He visited the capital of Judea that he might become personally acquainted with Peter. But the church there, not knowing of his conversion, or suspicious of its reality, avoided his society till Barnabas introduced him to the confidence of the brethren. After a short stay of fifteen days in the metropolis, during which time he saw none other of the apostles except Peter and James, he was compelled to leave it on account of the Hellenists, or Grecian Jews, with whom he had disputed. It was during this visit that he had a vision while praying in the temple, when Jesus commanded him to depart from Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 21). Some have identified the rapture into the third heavens which the apostle describes in the second epistle to the Corinthians (xii. 2, etc.) with the present

vision, as do Schrader, Schott,[d] and Wieseler.[e] But De Wette objects on the ground of chronology.[f] That however is not the surest position. Others refer the rapture in question to the time of his conversion; either to that which befel him on his way to Damascus, or to the visions he enjoyed during the three days he spent in the city soon after. It is tolerably certain, however, that it cannot be identified with the vision on the way to Damascus, as Neander has well shewn. Nor can it be proved, that he had any supernatural vision during the three days of mental anguish he passed in the city, before receiving his sight. He was not at that time an *ἄνθρωπος ἐν Χριστῷ, a confirmed Christian.* Hence the period signified in Acts ix. 3-12 is too early.

Burton fixes the rapture into Paradise in the time of the apostle's sojourn in Tarsus; five years, according to his chronology, after Paul had left Jerusalem. This hypothesis is entirely arbitrary.

We must either identify 2 Cor. xii. 2, etc. with Acts xxii. 17, etc., or infer that the extraordinary rapture spoken of in the former is omitted in the latter book.

In favour of the former view, various circumstances have been stated. Reference is made to the word *ἁρπαγέντα, caught away* (2 Cor. xii. 2), with which *ἔκστασις* (Acts xxii. 17) well agrees. At that time, Paul was *a tried Christian* (*ἄνθρωπος ἐν Χριστῷ*); it being several years after his conversion. The event was next in importance to his miraculous conversion. By the one, he was effectually transformed; by the other, he was assured of his calling to be the apostle of the Gentiles; and therefore he left Jerusalem for ever as the scene of his ministry (Acts xxii. 18-21). Hence in his address to the Jews at Jerusalem (Acts xxii), he could speak with propriety of both *revelations* (*ἀποκαλύψεις*) successively; nor were his hearers embittered against him till he mentioned the latter *revelation.* The connection of the passage in the Corinthian epistle is also favourable to the hypothesis. After speaking of his flight from Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 32, 33),

[d] Erörterung einer Wichtigen Chronologischen Punkte in der Lebensgeschichte des Apostel Paulus, u. s. w. p. 101.

[e] Chronologie der Apostolischen Zeitalters, u. s. w. p. 165.

[f] Exegetisches Handbuch, on 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

which was nearly synchronous, since he repaired to Jerusalem from the former city, he notices *the revelation* before us, as if the one event had suggested the other. The asseveration too, in 2 Cor. xi. 31, has no appropriate significance if it be referred to the thirty-second and thirty-third verses, the latter containing nothing to justify such an oath. But the case is altered if the thirty-first verse be considered an introduction to the apostle's narrative of his *revelations*. Besides, it is inconceivable why he should particularly mention his persecution by the ethnarch of Aretas (verses 32 and 33). Paul, the tried one, had at that time unquestionably suffered much worse treatment (comp. 23-30). Had his design been to quote merely a single example of an imminent danger, he would scarcely have selected this one, which reached no farther than *the purpose* to apprehend him (*πιάσαί με θέλων*).

Such are the chief particulars urged by Wieseler to shew the identity of the rapture into Paradise with the vision in the temple (Acts xxii. 17). His appeal to chronology in its favour, contrasted with De Wette's like appeal to chronology against it, has no independent value. The point should be examined irrespectively of chronology, at least in the first instance. The considerations collected by Wieseler are slight. They are very far from favouring the identity he wishes to establish; and though he affirms there cannot be a doubt that the *ecstasy* in the temple *must be* meant by the apostle when he speaks of his being caught up into the third heavens, we entertain strong doubts on the point. We agree with him in thinking, that the solemn appeal to God in 2 Cor. xi. 31, has not an appropriate significance if it be referred to the two verses immediately following. But that it forms an introduction to the narrative of the *revelations* vouchsafed to Paul is equally improbable. The asseveration is made in view of what he had just said of his sufferings for the gospel's sake. For the truth of the numerous and extraordinary calamities he had endured, he appeals to the blessed God. All other modes of connecting the thirty-first verse are clogged with difficulties. The reason why he mentions particularly, in this place, the persecution by the ethnarch of Aretas is, because it had been forgotten in the list just finished. Hence, after closing

the enumeration with a solemn appeal to God, he adds the forgotten peril.

In regard to the chronology, it does seem to be embarrassed rather than facilitated by the opinion in question.

An examination of all the circumstances has led us to conclude, that the present vision in the temple cannot be identified with the *rapture* spoken of in 2 Cor. xii. 2, etc. If so, the latter is unnoticed in the Acts of the Apostles. In consequence of the abundance of the revelations given (2 Cor. xii. 2, etc.), a thorn in the flesh was sent for the purpose of restraining spiritual pride. Here it is wise to refrain from idle conjecture respecting the precise thing described under the figurative appellation, "thorn in the flesh."

From Jerusalem, Paul was brought to Caesarea Straton, took ship to Seleucia, and went thence by land through part of Syria into Cilicia, to his native city Tarsus, where it is highly probable he was not inactive. He preached with effect both in the city and neighbouring places. We have not the means of determining how long he remained there. Conjecture must supply the vacant space; and the conjectures will vary in proportion to the earlier or later date assigned to the apostle's conversion. Those who place that event early, as Burton does, assume a tolerably long stay. Perhaps Wieseler adopts too short a period when he assumes from six to twelve months. More likely is Anger's calculation of two years.[g]

He staid in Cilicia till Barnabas sought him out and brought him to Antioch, to assist in the work of the ministry in this place. It was natural for Barnabas, who was placed in difficult circumstances at Antioch, to look for a fellow-labourer; and it was no less natural for him who was acquainted with the zeal and liberal-mindedness of the apostle, to fix on one singularly fitted to carry forward the cause of Christ. Here then Paul spent a whole year, and taught much people, till he became the bearer, in company with Barnabas, of contributions from the Christians at Antioch to the Christians of Judea, who were on the eve of a famine in the time of Claudius. They were accompanied by

[g] De Temporum etc. p. 171.

John Mark, nephew of Barnabas; a circumstance no doubt pleasing to the apostle of the Gentiles. This was Paul's *second* visit to Jerusalem since his conversion.

The delegates appear to have returned to Antioch, after *a short* abode in the capital of Judea. Here it must be observed that the church at Antioch was the mother-church of the Gentiles. It was the centre whence issued the first systematic effort to bring the Gentiles into the bosom of Christianity. Paul had laboured there with much success, associated with other Hellenistic teachers, and was now about to enter on his first missionary tour to the Gentiles. After he and Barnabas had been solemnly separated to the work, they were sent forth to preach the gospel to the heathen. Passing through Seleucia, on the coast of Syria, they sailed to Cyprus the native land of Barnabas, and preached in the synagogues of Salamis. They repaired thence to the western part of the island, to Paphos. We find them next at Perga in Pamphylia. Here Mark, who had hitherto accompanied them, left their society, and went back to Jerusalem. Perhaps his faith failed; or the lingering remembrance of home induced him to forsake the path of duty. From Pamphylia, the apostles went to Antioch in Pisidia, and thence to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia. From Attalia they took ship and returned to Antioch, where they called the church together, and gave them an account of their ministry, shewing that God had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles. During this tour, it was their regular practice to address the Jews first, whenever they could procure a favourable place or time for that purpose. They preached in synagogues and proseuchae, testifying that Jesus is the Messiah. When rejected by the Jews, they turned to the Gentiles. The churches they planted in different localities must have been composed both of Jewish and Gentile converts, the proportion varying, of course, with the circumstances of each place.

After remaining some time at Antioch, a dispute arose in the church respecting the observance of the law and of circumcision. Certain pharisaically minded Jewish christians had come down from Judea, and had taught the disciples at Antioch the necessity of circumcising heathen converts in order to salvation. By

this means the church was considerably distracted. After the two apostles had combated their sectarian notions, it was resolved that an appeal should be made to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas accordingly were sent to procure the necessary decision on the point. Travelling through Phoenicia and Samaria, where they embraced the opportunity of confirming the disciples in the faith, they arrived in Jerusalem. Here they were cordially received by the church, with the apostles and elders. This was *the third* visit the apostle paid to Jerusalem since his conversion. Believing, as we do, that it synchronises with that mentioned in the epistle to the Galatians (ii. 1-10), it would appear that Paul went up, not merely in consequence of the church's resolution, but of an internal impulse from above. He was prompted by an inward revelation. After some difficulty, the delegates obtained decrees confirmatory of their views from the assembled mother-church in the metropolis of Judea—decrees necessarily binding on the Christian communities generally, because they proceeded virtually from inspired apostles who were infallible. The epistle in question rejoiced the hearts of the believers at Antioch, who had been prepared by the teaching of Paul and Barnabas for sympathising in the liberal views contained in it.

After peace had been restored in the church at Antioch, and there was no probability of the dispute being renewed, Paul proposed another missionary tour to Barnabas, with the view of visiting the newly founded churches in different countries. The latter, not disinclined to the journey, wished his nephew Mark to accompany them. But Paul was opposed to this step. He refused to take again with them one who had ignominiously deserted them already. The division of opinion on this point led to the separation of the two apostles. Barnabas went with Mark to Cyprus; while Paul, having chosen Silvanus or Silas for his companion, and being recommended by the brethren to the grace of God, took another route, passing through Syria and Cilicia, where he confirmed the churches. He proceeded thence to Derbe and Lystra; and at the latter place (ἐκεῖ, xvi. 1) found Timothy, a native of Derbe (Δερβαῖος, xx. 4), who attached himself to the person of the great apostle ever after. This zealous

youth, who was well reported of by the Christians in Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, had been early trained by a pious mother, a Jewess, in the principles of religion. Both she and her son had early embraced Christianity. After Paul had him circumcised out of condescension to the weakness of many Jewish converts, to whom Timothy would be more acceptable on that account, he took him with him to Phrygia and Galatia, publishing the decrees as he went along. The sacred record is silent respecting the cities of Galatia in which Paul with his assistants preached, and the time they remained there. Being forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel in proconsular Asia, they travelled along the southern border of Mysia to Troas, uncertain whether to pass over into Europe or not. Here they were joined by Luke, for he now begins to use the first person, "*we* endeavoured, etc." (Acts xvi. 10). While at Troas, a Macedonian appeared to Paul in a nocturnal vision, imploring help on behalf of his country. This determined them to go to Macedonia, so that they set sail immediately, came to Samothrace and Neapolis, and proceeded, without waiting, to Philippi. Here Lydia was converted; and a certain female slave possessed of a divining spirit was restored for ever to her right mind. But the rage of her masters, when they saw the source of their gains dried up, was roused against Paul and Silvanus. Scourging and imprisonment were the consequence. On their release they entered Lydia's house, and bade farewell to the assembled Christians. Leaving Luke and Timothy in Philippi, they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica. Here Paul preached in the synagogue. But the bigotry of the Jews caused him to leave it. Paul and Silas proceeded thence to Beroea, after having been some weeks at Thessalonica. In this city they met with a favourable reception, till unbelieving Jews from Thessalonica stirred up the people against them. From Beroea, at which place Timothy and Silas rejoined him, the apostle went to Athens by sea,[h] accompanied by some of the Beroeans, but leaving Silas and Timothy behind. Arrived at this cultivated city, he intended to have waited the coming of Timothy and Silas, to whom he had

[h] That he was taken by land is less probable.

sent a message by the returning Beroeans to follow him as speedily as possible. But he could not remain inactive in such a place, even for a few days. The moral and religious condition of the people, as presented to his view, filled him with painful emotions. His sympathies were stirred within him. He saw on every side temples, statues, and altars, dedicated to heathen gods. The memorials of idolatry met him continually. These melancholy proofs of the aberrations of humanity fired his zeal for the honour of the true God. Moved therefore by a holy impulse, he preached in the synagogue to the Jews and Grecian proselytes who frequented it. Nor did he confine his efforts to them. That he might reach other classes who were never found in the synagogue, he repaired to the market-place, where groups were wont to assemble for the purpose of talking over the topics of the day, or inquiring after something new. In this place he encountered several Epicurean and Stoic philosophers. The curiosity of some was excited. They took him to the most convenient part for speaking and hearing in public—to the Areopagus—where he addressed them in a discourse characterised by surpassing eloquence, wisdom, and skill He had never spoken to an assembly embracing so many cultivated, acute, philosophic minds, such as the metropolis of Grecian learning could alone furnish; and the adaptation of the discourse to such an assembly is exquisite. The highest genius could not have framed one better fitted to convince the hearers of the folly of their religion, or to guide them to the true God who had revealed himself in His works around them, in their own self-consciousness, and in the Redeemer of mankind, through whom forgiveness is to be obtained. At the beginning of his sermon, he refers with consummate tact to *the religious feeling* prevailing among them, as manifested by the inscription he had observed on an altar, *ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, to the unknown God.* This was an evidence of the religious sentiment within, though that sentiment had been vaguely and erroneously directed.

We need not be perplexed, though mention of an altar with this very inscription should not be found in heathen authors. Pausanias speaks of altars dedicated to "unknown gods;"[1] and

[1] See Atticus, 4.

Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius,[j] has similar language, using the *plural* number also. The two passages in Lucian, which some have quoted to shew the existence of an altar with the exact inscription here given, are irrelevant, because the writer appears to be ridiculing the words of Paul himself.[k] But the silence of classical writers respecting such an altar as is spoken of by the apostle does not militate against it. It is surely most improbable, that, speaking in the city itself, he should commit a mistake. He would not have ventured to state a fact, which every hearer could have easily contradicted. Nor is there anything in polytheism inconsistent with Paul's assertion. Even among the *altars* with inscriptions to the unknown *gods*, there may have been one with the inscription to the unknown *god;* for the language employed by Pausanias and Philostratus does not exclude that idea.

When he proceeded so far as to speak of the resurrection of the dead, he was interrupted and ridiculed by some. Others more civil said, that they would hear him speak of those matters at another time. A few only attached themselves closely to him, and became believers; among whom was Dionysius, one of the court of Areopagus.

From Athens, the apostle repaired alone to Corinth, the capital of Achaia. Timothy had rejoined him at Athens,[l] though Silas probably was still in Beroea;[m] but he sent the former again into Macedonia. In this city he met with a Jew named Aquila, and his wife Priscilla, who had lately been obliged to leave Rome in consequence of an imperial edict commanding all Jews to depart from the city. In their house he abode, and wrought at the manufacture of tent-cloth along with them. While he continued in Corinth, Timothy returned from Thessalonica, and gave him an account of the church in that place. Silas too returned from Beroea. The apostle met with considerable success during his present stay in the capital of Achaia. He was not much molested by the Jews. On one occasion, indeed, their opposition was stirred up against him; yet their attempt to have him punished

[j] vi. 3. [k] Philopatris, 13. 29. [l] 1 Thessal. iii. 1.
[m] Michaelis and Schott think that Silas also came to Athens.

by the proconsul was unsuccessful. After remaining a year and a half, and writing the two epistles to the church at Thessalonica, he sailed from Cenchrea, where he began the fulfilment of a Nazarite vow, along with Aquila and Priscilla. He had resolved to go into Syria, whence he had set forth a considerable time before. But he did not go directly to Antioch. He proceeded to Ephesus. During the few days he continued here, he repaired to the synagogue and taught with so much acceptance, that the hearers expressed a wish he should remain among them. But he was anxious to fulfil his vow in the temple at Jerusalem; and left Ephesus promising to return soon, leaving Aquila and Priscilla behind. Proceeding by Caesarea to Jerusalem, which he now visited *the fourth time* since his conversion, he returned to Antioch, completing his second missionary tour. During this journey he planted churches in Galatia, Thessalonica, Philippi, and Corinth, besides writing the two epistles to the Thessalonians.

After a considerable stay in Antioch, he set forth on a third missionary tour, with Titus for his companion, travelling through Galatia and Phrygia, where he confirmed the believers in the faith, and thence to Ephesus, where he found Aquila and Priscilla. Here he baptized twelve disciples of John, after they had been taught more accurately the baptism of the Holy Spirit. But when he had preached three months in the synagogue, a part of the Jews began to manifest some opposition to his doctrine. He deemed it prudent therefore to have recourse to the Gentiles, and taught daily in the school of one Tyrannus. Great success attended his labours. Nor were his efforts confined to the city itself. It became the centre of salutary influences to the surrounding parts. The Christians of Asia Minor generally were benefited; for he undertook short journeys to various places in that region, or sent his assistants where their presence was needed. Towards the end of his stay at Ephesus, a popular tumult was raised against him by Demetrius a silversmith, who felt the decline of his gains he derived from the manufacture of small models in gold and silver of the temple consecrated to Artemis, the great goddess of the Ephesians. On this occasion, the fury of the people was violent. But the chamberlain and some of the magis-

trates interfered on behalf of Paul, and succeeded in calming the turbulent mob. We are unable to tell whether he was led by this uproar to leave the city sooner than he had purposed. Perhaps it had no influence in hastening his departure, for he seems to have been exposed to frequent and imminent dangers in Ephesus. It is to one of these perils he alludes, when writing to the Corinthians; not to the uproar excited by Demetrius, which happened subsequently to the writing of the first epistle to the Corinthians. There is a difficulty, however, in determining the kind of danger alluded to in the words, "If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not?" (1 Cor. xv. 32). The passage is capable of *a literal*, or of *a figurative*, acceptation. Many think that the apostle had to fight with wild beasts in the theatre for his life, the enraged multitude uttering against him the cry which they did against many Christians, *ad bestias*, *ad leones*. But if that be the meaning of the words, it is difficult to perceive the appropriateness of κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, which can only mean, *according to the will of man*, in tacit contrast with κατὰ θεὸν, not *according to the will of God*.[n] We must then summon the aid of a miracle, for in any other view of the matter his escape was most improbable. The silence of the Acts, and much more of Paul himself, when enumerating his exposures to immediate peril (2 Cor. xi.), is adverse to the literal interpretation. Hence the figurative is preferable. He had fought with wild, raging, savage enemies at Ephesus, who thought to destroy him.[o] Notwithstanding his danger, the apostle continued here nearly three years, regarding the place as a most important position, both from its own character, and the situation of it in relation to Lesser Asia generally. Here he wrote the epistle to the Galatians, and the first to the Corinthians.

From Ephesus he set out for Macedonia. But on his way thither he stopped some time at Troas, where he expected to meet Titus whom he had sent to Corinth. After preaching at Troas, and waiting for Titus in vain, he went to Macedonia; whence,

[n] See Bretschneider's Lexicon, s. v. κατά.

[o] See Osiander's Commentar über den ersten Brief Pauli an die Korinthier, pp. 738, 739.

after Titus's arrival, he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians, and collected the contributions of the Christians for the relief of the poor brethren in Judea. Before going now to Achaia, he is supposed to have preached in Illyria; and during a three months' stay in Corinth, he wrote the epistle to the Romans.

Soon after despatching the Roman letter, he prepared to set forth on his journey to Jerusalem, with the money he had collected for the poor saints in Judea. His purpose had been to pass through Syria; but in consequence of the machinations of his enemies the Jews, he resolved to travel back through Macedonia. Hence we find him next at Philippi, from which place he sent forward the companions mentioned in Acts xx. 4, to Troas, where they waited his arrival. Here he joined Luke. The next place he visited was Troas, where he abode seven days. At Miletus, he gave the elders of the Ephesian church a most touching charge, and bade them farewell. From Miletus, he and his companions sailed by Cos, Rhodes, and Patara, to Tyre. After waiting seven days they came to Ptolemais, abiding with the brethren there one day. Arrived at Caesarea, they lodged in the house of Philip the evangelist. Here Agabus the prophet predicted Paul's imprisonment at Jerusalem. Contrary, however, to the entreaties of all the brethren, he persevered in his determination to go up to the metropolis, where he arrived the *fifth time* after his conversion, immediately before the passover.

On the day after his arrival, the apostle went to James, the brother of Jesus, probably the only apostle then in Jerusalem, to whom, in the presence of the elders, he described the effects of his ministry among the Gentiles. The account filled their hearts with joy and gratitude. But their satisfaction was attended with uneasiness. They were aware that the numerous Jewish christians in Jerusalem were strongly prejudiced against the apostle, because of his liberal views respecting legal observances. Zeal on behalf of the Mosaic rites, from which the Jewish believers could not readily disengage themselves, excited them to charge the apostle with misleading the converts, and inducing them to renounce circumcision and the ceremonials of the Jewish economy. It is easy to see how this construction might be put on his teachings. The tendency and natural result of the doctrine of justifi-

cation by faith alone was certainly an abandonment of the Mosaic law; but the apostle, in the spirit of wise condescension, had become a Jew to the Jews. He had not objected to the continued practice of circumcision by the Jewish converts, knowing that they were not prepared for abandoning it all at once. When circumcision was urged as necessary to salvation, *and then only*, had he raised his voice against it. The accusation, therefore, of these weak believers bore a false aspect as they presented it. The apostle's design was not, as they alleged, to bring the law into contempt; though he well knew that the gradual operation of the evangelical principles he inculcated would necessarily lead to its abandonment, as soon as a growing acquaintance with the comprehensive spirit of Christianity could look beyond outward forms to the inward life of religion. For the purpose of propitiating the people thus prejudiced against Paul, James proposed that he should take part in the Jewish worship, in a way most likely to prove acceptable to the pious adherents of the law. He was advised to join in the performance of a vow with four men; to submit to the same process of purification as they did; and to bear a share of the expenses incurred; so that the Nazarite vow might be strictly fulfilled after the fashion of a zealous Jew. The apostle readily assented, and acted accordingly.

It has been asked, whether it was wise for Paul to accede to the proposal of the elders? Witsius,[p] Hales,[q] Townsend,[r] Bloomfield,[s] and others, think that James and the presbytery at Jerusalem were right in giving the advice; and, consequently, that the apostle was justified in following it. But we cannot assent to this view of the case. To assume appearances for the sake of effect is ordinarily unwise policy. It places a man in false positions. It is a sort of artifice which generally defeats itself in the end. The simple fact that Paul resorted to such a measure, does not settle the question of its propriety and wisdom. The apostles were not infallibly directed with respect to their conduct, as they

[p] De Vita Pauli x. in Meletem. Leiden. p. 109, et seq.

[q] Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 536, et seq.

[r] The New Testament arranged in chronological and historical Order, &c. vol. ii. p. 282, fourth edition.

[s] Greek Testament, note on Acts xx. 23.

were in regard to their *teaching* and *writing*. They were liable to fall into error and sin. Their conduct was fallible, like that of other men. So Moses, David, and the sacred penmen of the Old Testament sinned. Hence we look on the apostle's conduct as culpable in this case. He resorted to an indirect measure—an artifice—for the purpose of conciliating the Jews, instead of taking the bold, honest, straightforward course commonly characteristic of him.

The measure failed of the effect intended, at least with the majority. The zealots were only more embittered against him. After seeing a Gentile christian with the apostle in the temple, their anger could no longer contain itself. It excited a violent tumult. But as he was on the point of being killed by the enraged populace, Lysias, the chief captain, appeared with a band of soldiers from the castle of Antonia, and rescued him out of their hands. Having been permitted to address the people from the stairs leading into the fortress, he proceeded to explain the circumstances connected with his conversion. But when he mentioned his divine commission to preach to the Gentiles, he was interrupted by the wild cry of the assembled multitude that he was not fit to live. Lysias therefore looked on him as guilty of some great crime. He did not understand what Paul had been saying to his countrymen in Hebrew, but plainly saw that the speaker was odious in their sight. Accordingly he commanded him to be scourged till he would confess his enormity: an ignominy from which the apostle saved himself by declaring his Roman citizenship. On the following morning, he was brought before the Sanhedrim; on which occasion, perceiving that the one part were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, he declared himself a Pharisee. This statement divided the assembly, the Pharisees siding with the apostle, the Sadducees opposing.

Here, as in a former instance, the conduct of Paul was culpable, although we are aware that many look on it as an example of commendable tact. What he said indeed was strictly true: "of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question;" but this statement was calculated to give a false impression, because the exciting cause of the present tumult was not such a charge. The artifice therefore to which he resorted on the pre-

sent occasion, did not lead to any permanent good. It was wrong to have recourse to it, because inconsistent with perfect honesty, openness, and transparency. He fell into error. *Inspiration* did not preserve him from sin.

Placed in imminent peril between the contending factions, the chief captain again rescued him and brought him into the castle. In consequence of the discovery of a conspiracy to murder him, of which his nephew had procured intelligence, Lysias sent him under an escort to Felix, the procurator, who resided at Caesarea. Here he was publicly arraigned by the Sanhedrim for sedition, heresy, and desecration of the temple. The defence consisted in a denial of the charges, and an account of his doctrine. Felix perceiving the prisoner's innocence, but reluctant to release him, gave him in charge to the centurion, with orders to keep him in easy confinement, and to forbid none of his friends from seeing him. At the desire of Drusilla, Felix sent for him, to hear him concerning the faith in Christ. On this occasion, the apostle discoursed with so great power before the guilty pair, concerning the momentous themes of righteousness, continence, and judgment to come, that the governor trembled. Since the prisoner was indisposed to purchase his freedom, he was left in confinement to gratify the Jews; in which state he continued two years, till Festus became procurator of Judea.

The apostle's enemies lost no time in informing the new governor against him. This led to his trial at Caesarea before Festus, where he was again accused by the Jews of many things which they failed to prove. But though the procurator perceived his innocence, he proposed a new trial at Jerusalem, to please the Jews. Doubtless the apostle would have fallen a sacrifice to the inveterate enmity of his persecutors, had he not appealed to the emperor. When King Agrippa and his sister Bernice came to congratulate Festus, the latter explained the case to Agrippa, thinking that he, being a Jew, might be able to direct him in the mode of presenting it to the emperor. In consequence of Agrippa's desire to hear the man himself, Paul was brought forth to speak before an august assembly. Here he related his manner of life, his conversion, his doctrine. But Festus could see in him none other than an enthusiast, and cried out accordingly, "Paul,

thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad." To which he replied, "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." Turning to Agrippa, he asked him, "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." Unable wholly to withstand the force of truth, though endeavouring to find an evasive answer, the king was involuntarily led to testify on its behalf, while he said ironically,[t] "In a short time forsooth you will persuade me to be a Christian." With what admirable address does the apostle, his arm bound with chains, lay hold of these words to attach to them the memorable utterance of an ardent disinterestedness: "Would to God that, in a longer or shorter time, not merely thou, O king! but all that hear me this day, might become what I am, except these bonds." Agrippa and the procurator were both convinced of his innocence; and the latter would have released him, had not Paul appealed to the emperor.

The voyage from Caesarea to Rome was a very dangerous and tempestuous one. Luke and Aristarchus the Macedonian accompanied Paul. It was nearly half a year before they arrived at the imperial city. Amid shipwrecks and imminent perils their lives had been saved.[u] At Rome, the apostle was allowed to hire a house for himself, and was guarded by one soldier, but had liberty to receive all who came to him, and to preach the gospel without restraint. Three days after his arrival, he sent for the principal Jews, to whom he explained his position. It would appear that they had not received any *official* report from Judea prejudicial to him, and were so far favourable as to express a wish to hear his opinions, since he belonged to a sect that was everywhere spoken against. Nor is there any good reason for thinking that they attempted to deceive Paul by telling him a falsehood. They spake truly when they informed him that *express* and *special* information respecting the circumstances laid to his charge had not reached them from their brethren in Judea. The old view indeed represents them as hypocritical in their language; but the modern commentators, with few exceptions, have properly aban-

[t] See Hemsen, p. 565, and De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch.

[u] See an interesting work, entitled, "The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul," by James Smith, Esq., 1848, 8vo.

doned it. It is a rational supposition that they spoke the truth.[x] During the two years' imprisonment at Rome, the apostle preached the kingdom of God to all with whom he came in contact, especially the Gentiles, who were more inclined to embrace the faith. Here too he wrote various epistles, addressed to Philemon and the churches at Colosse, Ephesus, and Philippi. But the sacred historian of the Acts closes his account of the apostle very abruptly; nor is any further record of his life and labours preserved in the New Testament. . Henceforward tradition is the source of our information respecting him; and the uncertainty of such a guide need not be spoken of.

Of the apostle's remaining life, two very different accounts have been given.

Some think that he was never released from the imprisonment noticed by Luke, but that he suffered martyrdom under the emperor. He had obtained a public hearing, and was delivered from the most imminent peril; but his condition as a prisoner was much worse than before. He was kept in close confinement, and none except Luke was with him. Some of his assistants had been sent to fields of labour. Others had removed from the city, because no longer able to serve him. Some had forsaken him through fear, or from other motives equally culpable. The second epistle to Timothy was written immediately before his death.

Others suppose that he was liberated from captivity; after which he visited various places, writing in the course of his journeys the first epistle to Timothy and the epistle to Titus. But he was again imprisoned at Rome, where he wrote the second epistle to Timothy immediately before he suffered during the terrible persecution under Nero.

Those who advocate the latter view are largely left to conjecture in tracing the countries he preached in, and especially the order in which he went to them. They differ among themselves regarding his visit to *Spain;* for while some think that he *did* go thither, there are more who reject the hypothesis as too slenderly

[x] See Philippi's Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer, Einleit. pp. 15, 16.

attested. Guerike, who may be taken as a good representative of the former view, thus arranges Paul's route. Agreeably to the expressed purposes of the apostle (Romans xv. 24, and Philemon, 22, Philipp. ii. 24), his travels were partly in the west and partly in the east. During one of his journeys he arrived in Crete. Here he planted several churches in cities (Titus i. 5), and left Titus to superintend the newly formed societies. Departing from Crete, he passed through Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick (2 Tim. iv. 20), and came to Ephesus, where he wrote the letter to Titus. Leaving Ephesus very soon, to go into Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), Timothy, his faithful assistant, remained behind, to labour there and in the neighbouring parts (1 Tim. i. 3, compared with 2 Tim. i. 18). It was from some place on his route that he addressed to him the first epistle. He touched at Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13), and Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20). The following winter he spent in Nicopolis (Titus iii. 12), situated in Epirus over against Italy; and passed over thence to Italy and Spain. From the latter place he was brought captive to Rome, where he wrote the last of his epistles, viz. the second to Timothy, in the prospect of speedy martyrdom.[y]

Mr. Tate, who leaves out Spain, arranges the hypothetic journey thus:—In company with Timothy and Titus, the apostle sailed to Crete, where he left Titus. Arriving in Asia from that island, he visited Colosse (Philem. 22), and Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 17), where Timothy was left. He proceeded to Macedonia by Troas, where he lodged in Carpus's house. Out of Macedonia, at Philippi, he wrote the first letter to Timothy. Before setting out thence to the north-western parts, he wrote to Titus, summoning him to Nicopolis. After the winter, he resumed his travels, and went to Corinth, whence he passed over to Ephesus, left Trophimus sick in Miletus, and arrived in Rome, where he was again apprehended; and after writing again to Timothy, suffered martyrdom.[z]

The grounds on which the second Roman imprisonment rests are partly ancient testimony, and partly the pastoral epistles. In respect to the latter, the early fathers do not appear to have

[y] Einleitung in das Neue Testament, pp. 401, 402.

[z] Continuous History of St. Paul, etc. part iii. p. 118, et seq.

looked upon the first to Timothy and that to Titus as having *a necessary connection* with the point in question. The second to Timothy alone was thought by them to require a second imprisonment. But the great majority of the moderns regard *the three epistles* as bearing on the subject, for they place the first to Timothy and that to Titus *between* the two captivities, though they were not so placed by the oldest fathers. We shall briefly glance at the traditional evidence.

Clement of Rome is perhaps the most important witness, as he is also the most ancient. He is quoted in favour of a journey taken by the apostle to Spain, and so becomes an evidence on behalf of a second imprisonment. The passage belonging to our purpose is found in the fifth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians. Different editions present slight variations, but those of Young, Wotton, and Jacobson are the most accurate. In them the lacunae of the MS. from which the entire epistle was first printed, are accurately marked, and the conjectural fillings denoted by brackets.

Διὰ ζῆλον [*καὶ ὁ*] *Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον* [*ἐπεσχ*]*εν, ἑπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας,* [*παι*] *δευθείς, λιθασθείς. κῆρυξ* [*γενό*]*μενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν* [*τῇ*] *δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κὸσμον, κα*[*ὶ ἐπὶ*] *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. Οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.*

"Through bigotry, Paul also obtained the reward of patience, after wearing bonds seven times, after being scourged, after being stoned. Having preached the gospel both in the east and west, he received the glorious renown due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the boundary of the west, and having borne his testimony before the rulers. Thus he departed out of the world, and went his way to that holy place, after having exhibited in his person the greatest pattern of patience."

This passage has given rise to much discussion. The language indeed is not precise or definite. It has *a rhetorical* cast, and was intended for popular effect. Accordingly it is somewhat vague and exaggerated. Two phrases are the most perplexing, viz. *ἐπὶ*

τῶν ἡγουμένων, and τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. With regard to the former, attempts have been made to restrict it to certain individuals. "The governors" are supposed by Pearson to have been *Helius* and *Polycletus*, who ruled Rome during Nero's temporary absence. Others regard them as the prefects Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus. Both these opinions are highly improbable. It seems to refer to the persons then in power at Rome—the Roman magistrates generally—not excluding the reigning emperor; *the authorities of the city*. Paul bore his testimony before the governors. Schott and Neander's interpretation of the phrase, Paul "testified of the faith before the great and powerful ones of the earth," is too general; while Wieseler's, which restricts it precisely to the persons who formed the emperor's council—*the principes civitatis*—is too definite, because it implies that there was *a regular hearing* of the apostle's suit before the highest tribunal. The latter phrase, viz. τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, is still more difficult. The natural sense of it is, "the boundary of the west." Does this mean Illyricum; or, the extreme boundary of the west as distinguished from its interior; or Italy generally, including Rome; or Spain? The first two explanations are not natural. The participle ἐλθὼν is unfavourable to *Spain*. Clement himself, writing from Rome, should rather in that case have employed πορευσάμενος, or a similar word; *having gone*, not *having come*. Besides, as Mr. Tate has observed, "east and west are relative terms, which can only be understood by ascertaining the point of reference in the mind of the speaker; as that again must be determined by knowing him and his notions on the subject, the notions also of the persons addressed, and even those of the parties who are the subjects of discourse. Keeping all this in mind, we may fairly ask, when Clement himself, more an eastern than a western, writes concerning Paul, whose chief labours had lain in the east, to the Corinthians, whose position naturally gave them an eastward inclination; would those Corinthians, on reading the passage here exhibited, without any significant hint from the context, discover in the words ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, that not imperial Rome, but some obscure spot in remote Spain, was there intended? All circumstances fully taken into consideration, I affirm that they

could not so understand the language of Clement; nor if such had been his meaning in writing to them, could he ever have left it in words of such inevitable uncertainty. Spain was very little likely to be known or thought of on the coasts of the Aegean Sea: Rome must have formed the limit of their general acquaintance with the west."[a] Again; the clause, "thus he left the world," refers to the mode of his death at Rome. With it is closely connected the preceding, "having testified before the governors," so that the local designation of the one is that of its successor also. So too the preceding clause, "having come to the limit of the west," is connected with its successor. The three clauses are thus *continuous*, referring apparently to one locality generally. The connection, therefore, so far from favouring *Spain* as the meaning of τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, as Neander thinks, appears to us against it.

The writer states, that after preaching in the east and west, the apostle received the glorious renown due to his faith. Repeating the idea he affirms, that Paul taught righteousness to *the whole world;* equivalent to the *east and west.* Then, in order to explain more particularly his reception of the glorious crown due to his faith, Clement proceeds to say, having come to the boundary of the west, and having borne a testimony before the governors (there), he left the world. Thus *the locality* of μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων seems to be *identical with*, or rather *included in*, that denoted by τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. Hence we understand by the boundary of the west, *the west itself*, conceiving that the expression is a rhetorical one. It signifies Italy in general, including the idea of Rome in particular, as appears from the following words.

Wieseler has proposed a new interpretation based on the fact that ἐπὶ is a conjectural supplement before τὸ τέρμα. The fact is unquestionable; but whether the supplement he proposes, viz. ὑπὸ instead of ἐπὶ, be more natural, is exceedingly doubtful. He understands ὑπὸ τὸ τέρμα ἐλθὼν to mean "coming before the highest power," *i. e.* the court in which the emperor himself sat, and to which the whole west was subject. We confess that ἐλθὼν is more favourable to the common supple-

[a] Continuous History, etc. pp. 178, 179.

ment ἐπὶ, than to that now proposed. The participle of ἄγειν or ὑπάγειν would have been used in this case. We cannot therefore approve of the meaning given by Wieseler; nor does his punctuation of the passage appear to be the best.[b]

In view of all the circumstances, and after much reflection, we understand the disputed phrase in question, of the bounds of the western empire generally; the writer having Italy, and especially Rome, in his mind. That he intended to designate *Spain* is more than doubtful.

The fact is by no means unimportant, that Eusebius[c] seems not to have understood Clement's words as referring to Spain. It cannot be pretended that he did not know Clement's epistle, since it was very generally circulated in early times, and most highly esteemed. Yet the historian has λόγος ἔχει, *there is a report*, without appealing to Clement's authority. He must therefore have understood the latter's words in a different sense from that assigned to them by many.

A few writers, such as Stillingfleet and Burgess, insist on the expression "extremity of the west" as meaning Britain, or at least *comprehending* it. But it is exceedingly improbable that Clement meant Britain, either *solely*, or as *included in* the phrase. Nor is there any other evidence to shew that Paul preached in our island. Theodoret,[d] who is the first writer that names Paul in connection with Britain, mentioned no more than a floating and baseless tradition.

More definite is the reference to a journey into Spain, in the fragment on the canon first published by Muratori. But the exceedingly mutilated state of the text detracts from the value of the witness. Speaking of the Acts of the Apostles written by Luke, the unknown author has these words: "Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophile (optimo Theophilo) comprehendit quia (quae) sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis."

[b] See Wieseler's first Excursus to his Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters, p. 521, et seq.

[c] Histor. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 22.

[d] De Cur Graec. ix.

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The interpretation of this passage is exceedingly difficult. It is stated by the fragmentist, or the presbyter Caius, as is generally believed, that Luke evidently declares the suffering of Peter in another place, not in the Acts. This can only be in Luke xxii. 31-33. But Luke has not in his gospel any reference to, much less an evident statement of Paul's journey from Rome to Spain. The use of the adversative *sed* rather than *et* leads to the conjecture, that some such word as *omittit*, after "*proficiscentis*," has been left out and should be supplied: "but omits the journey of Paul to Spain." The fragmentist seems to be arguing against persons who assumed the existence of the Spanish journey, and who, in reply to the remark that Luke said nothing about it, quoted the same historian's silence respecting the undisputed fact of Peter's death at Rome. But the unknown writer affirms that Luke *does* declare Peter's passion, while he *omits* Paul's journey.

Others understand the writer as himself wishing to prove, from Luke, the historical reality of Paul's Spanish journey. If so, it is impossible to see in what way he could have done so; for Luke has not the most distant allusion to it, either in the Acts or gospel. Credner changes *semote* into *semota*, *sed* into *et*, and *declarat* into *declarant;* and understands the words as declaring, that passages elsewhere (*i. e.* not in Luke's writings), viz. John xxi. 18, et seq. and Romans xv. 24-28, speaks of Peter's martyrdom and Paul's journey.[e] Against this correction of the passage, and the meaning elicited by means of it, several considerations might be adduced. Wieseler has well shewn the improbability attaching to the view in question.[f] The authority of the fragment, though belonging probably to the second century, in favour of the journey to Spain, is too precarious to be relied on. In our view it proves the reverse of that for which it has been employed. Even as amended by Credner, it represents the fragmentist as thinking that the passage in Romans xv. 24-28, "evidently declares" Paul's journey; whereas it does no more than express the apostle's wish or intention to undertake such a tour. *The actual fulfilment* of his wish is quite a different thing.

[e] Zur Geschichte des Kanons, pp. 79, 80.

[f] Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters, p. 537.

No writer earlier than the fourth century mentions the apostle's release from confinement. The lateness of this period materially lessens the value of the evidence. If the earliest witness be Eusebius, the alleged fact does not rest on a very secure foundation. The principal witness is none other than the father of ecclesiastical history. Let us hear him:—*Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὖθις ἐπι τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ. Ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἐχόμενος, τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὁμοῦ σημαίνων τήν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τὴν παραπόδας τελείωσιν. Δέχου δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας, "ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου, φησὶν, ἀπολογίᾳ οὐδείς μοι συμπαρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον. Μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθείη. Ὁ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσε με, ἵνα δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ, καὶ ἀκούσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος."* *Σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησι διὰ τούτων, ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πληρωθείη, ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτῃ, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ τὸ ὠμόθυμον προσειπών. Οὐκ οὖν ἐξῆς προστέθεικε παραπλήσιόν τι, τὸ, ῥύσεταί με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος. Ἑώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ὅσον οὔπω μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. Διὸ φησιν ἐπιλέγων τῷ, καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τὸ· "ῥύσεταί με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον,"* *σημαίνων τὸ παραυτίκα μαρτύριον . . . . . Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἴρηται παρισταμένοις, ὅτι μὴ καθ' ἣν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου, τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη.*[g]

"After pleading his cause, he is said to have departed again on the ministry of preaching, and after a second visit to the same city, he finished his life with martyrdom. While he was a prisoner, he wrote his second epistle to Timothy, in which he both mentions his first defence, and his impending exaltation to glory. Hear on these points his own testimony respecting himself:—'In my first defence, no one was present with me, but all deserted me. May it not be laid to their charge. But the Lord was with me, and strengthened me, that through me the preach-

[g] H. E. ii. 22.

ing of the gospel might be fulfilled, and all the nations might hear it.' He plainly sets forth in these words, 'on the former occasion he was rescued from the lion's mouth, that the preaching of the gospel might be accomplished;' that it was Nero to whom he referred by this expression, as is probable on account of his cruelty. Therefore he did not subsequently append any such expression as, 'he will rescue me from the lion's mouth,' for he saw in spirit how near his approaching death was. Hence after the expression, 'and I was rescued from the lion's mouth,' this also, 'the Lord will rescue me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom;' indicating the approaching martyrdom. . . . . Thus much we have said to shew that the apostle's martyrdom did not take place at that period of his stay at Rome, when Luke wrote his history."

In this paragraph, several points demand attention.

First. Eusebius appears to have had no historical ground for the opinion he expresses. He quotes no preceding writer, neither Clement nor Caius. He gives it as *a report* or *saying*—*a* λόγος.

Secondly. Eusebius, in another place, enumerating the parts of the world where Christ was preached by the apostles, says:—"Why should we speak of Paul spreading the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom at Rome under Nero? This account is given by Origen, in the third book of his exposition of Genesis."[h] Hence we conclude that Origen knew nothing of a second captivity.

Thirdly. Eusebius appeals, in confirmation of the sentiment, to the second epistle to Timothy. Perhaps it was nothing more than an historical hypothesis, assumed for the purpose of explaining the difficulties and apparent contradictions found in that epistle. Whether any preceding writer had done so, we have not the means of ascertaining. Schrader[i] and Goeschen[j] attribute the conjecture to a desire on the part of the historian of reconciling his false chronology, according to which he placed Paul's arrival at Rome in the first year of Nero's reign, with the fact of the apostle's death taking place towards the end of it. In his Chronicon, he makes Festus succeed Felix as governor of Judea, in

[h] H. E. iii. 1.

[i] Der Apostel Paulus, i. p. 251, et seq.

[j] In Hemsen, der Apostel Paulus, p. 739, et seq.

the year of Claudius's death (*i. e.* A. D. 54), and places the beginning of the Roman imprisonment in the spring of 55. But Paul's martyrdom is assigned to the thirteenth of Nero (*i. e.* A. D. 67). Hence, if the apostle were not released, *twelve* years of his residence in Rome would remain to be accounted for. Accordingly the historian seized on the floating tradition, not only for the the purpose of solving exegetical difficulties in the second epistle to Timothy, but of rendering his chronology consistent and probable.

This solution is not improbable. If it be asked, was Eusebius the first to do so?—no reply can be given. Had not certain phenomena appeared in the epistle, it is probable that the opinion would not have been put forth at first. Its *independent* origin cannot be traced.

It is useless to quote the testimony of Jerome, Euthalius, Chrysostom, and others, since it is all resolvable into that of the historian. After Eusebius had written, several circumstances were added to the tradition, which being adopted by distinguished fathers soon became general. It was not however *universal*. To the Euthalian edition of the Acts is prefixed an *Ἀποδημία Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, an itinerary of the apostle Paul*, containing nothing of a second imprisonment. Primasius, a disciple of Augustine, has in his commentary on Romans xv. 24 the following: "Promiserat quidem, sed dispensante Deo, non ambulavit." "He had promised indeed (to go into Spain); but in the arrangements of God, he did not go." And in his commentary on 2 Timothy iv. 17: "Eruit me dominus de ore Festi," etc. "The Lord rescued me from the mouth of Festus,"[k] etc. In like manner, Cyril of Jerusalem speaks only of the apostle's *προθυμία, willingness*, to extend his preaching as far as Spain. Chrysostom, himself an eastern, knew nothing of a journey undertaken into the east, after the release from prison; and Pope Innocent the First, a western, knew nothing of a journey into Spain, or into any other western places, except such as are consistent with a single imprisonment.[l] These facts indirectly favour the opinion that there was no other imprisonment than that spoken of by Luke.

[k] See Schrader's Paulus, erster Theil, p. 254.

[l] See Wieseler, p. 539.

The conclusion at which we have arrived is, that there is no proper *historical* basis for the view in question. Only one captivity is *historically* certain. The *patristic* ground of the second is weak and invalid.

We have narrowed the foundation of the apostle's release to the second epistle to Timothy That seems to be the only support which it has. Hence we shall postpone the farther consideration of the question till the pastoral epistles come under review; for the point in modern times has been connected with the *three* epistles, especially with the *second* to Timothy.

Without pronouncing an opinion at present on the existence of a second imprisonment as deduced from the epistles, we shall detail the few particulars recorded of the apostle's death. The fact that he suffered under Nero is well attested. It is stated by Clement of Rome *probably*; by Tertullian, Eusebius, Lactantius, Sulpicius Severus, Syncellus, Euthalius, and others. Eusebius, too, speaks of his being *beheaded*, while Peter was *crucified*. The one was a Roman citizen, but the other did not possess that privilege. There is very ancient evidence, which Burton considers most respectable, that the body was buried on the road to Ostia. It is that of the Roman presbyter Caius, quoted by Eusebius. There his tomb was shewn as early as the second century.

The chronology of the apostle's life is encompassed with difficulties which have not been fully removed. It has given rise to very learned and able dissertations. The labour expended on its elucidation has been great. The efforts of British and continental scholars which have been put forth in regard to it are most laudable. But the nature of the subject forbids the attainment of absolute certainty. The materials must often be disposed and combined by the help of probabilities. The Acts of the Apostles contain few chronological points that can be employed as true marks in the determination of exact times. With all the learned labour, therefore, that has been employed on the subject, nothing more than *an approximation* to the truth has been effected. There is still room for diversity of opinion, and such diversity will probably continue to exist, the subject being incapable of demonstration.

In endeavouring to trace the chronology, a few prominent

points present themselves to notice, appearing at first sight to be of special importance, and capable of accurate determination by the help of heathen writers. But when closely examined, they are surrounded with some uncertainty.

1. The date that can be settled with most accuracy is the time of Porcius Festus's arrival in Palestine, in room of Felix. It is true that the time when he entered on his office is not specified; but the year of Pallas's death is known from Tacitus, viz. A. D. 62. With the aid of Josephus and Tacitus, along with the New Testament, we infer that Festus arrived at Caesarea, A. D. 60; and therefore the apostle must have gone to Rome in the spring of 61. The ablest chronologists agree in this date: among the older, Pearson, Spannheim, Tillemont; among the modern, Winer, Wurm, Anger, and Wieseler.

2. Another event, which can be fixed with accuracy, is the death of Herod Agrippa, and therefore the time of Peter's imprisonment, and of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem with the contributions to the poor Christians. We know from Josephus that Herod died at Caesarea, in the seventh year of his reign (*i. e.* A. D. 44). Hence the second visit to Jerusalem must have been about 44; not later certainly than A. D. 45.[m]

Other events are less certain, though they *have been* employed in calculations, and *should be so*, for as much as they are worth. Thus,

3. Aretas is spoken of in connexion with Paul's escape from Damascus, about three years after the latter's conversion, and immediately before his *first visit* to Jerusalem (2 Cor. xi. 31, 32; Acts ix. 24, 25). We know from Josephus that this Aretas was king of Arabia, father-in-law to Herod Antipas, and that he conquered the latter in war. But Herod having implored assistance from Tiberius, Vitellius proconsul of Syria was sent, and had already begun his march against Aretas, when the emperor's death saved the Arabian king, and put a stop to the general's progress. On the withdrawment of the troops by Vitellius, Aretas may have seized the favourable opportunity of taking Damascus which belonged to the Romans, and placing an ethnarch over it; or Caius, Tiberius's successor, may have bestowed the city on

[m] See Winer's Realwörterbuch, s. v. Paulus.

Aretas, as Wieseler thinks. In either case, we do not know *the year* when the ethnarch was set over it.

4. Another event, which might also at first sight appear to throw light on the chronology, is the meeting of Paul with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth (Acts xviii. 2), when the latter had been obliged to leave Rome in consequence of an edict issued by Claudius against the Jews in that city. But it is uncertain in what year the emperor issued the particular edict in question, or how long Aquila and Priscilla had been absent from Rome when Paul found them in the capital of Achaia. The passage in Suetonius, relating to Claudius's expulsion of the Jews, is confessedly obscure (Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit); nor does Dio's language respecting the emperor throw much light on the matter. It may be, that the decree should be placed at the end of A. D. 51, or the beginning of 52; so that Paul's presence in Corinth would fall in 52, for Aquila and his wife had *lately* (προσφάτως) come from Italy.[n]

5. Not more certain is another event in regard to time, viz. when the proconsul Annaeus Gallio, brother of Seneca, was at Corinth. Paul was there at the same period (Acts xviii. 12); so that a knowledge of the true date of *the former* would determine that of *the latter*. All that we learn however from Pliny and Seneca is, that Gallio *was* proconsul of Achaia under Nero. The precise year in which he went to Achaia, and the length of time he had been in office before Paul arrived at Corinth, are alike uncertain.[o] In any case, he could not well have been proconsul sooner than A. D. 51.

These observations will serve to shew how little *absolute chronology* contributes to the settlement of the principal events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and how much room there is for the exercise of ingenuity in the whole department. Minute combinations of circumstances, slight allusions, indefinite references, have to be weighed in the balance with nice adjustment before general results be educed.

We do not propose to discuss the subject fundamentally. It were foreign to our purpose to institute an inquiry absolutely new into all the minutiae which require to be scrutinised. By pre-

[n] See Wieseler, p. 120, et seq.

[o] See Anger, p. 119.

senting long processes of investigation, too much space would be occupied. Neither would the utility of the results compensate for the time so spent.

Among all the inquirers, none seem to have entered so fully and successfully into the discussion as Schott, Wurm,[p] Anger, and Wieseler. The works of these authors have therefore been attended to more than others. Yet the latter have not been neglected. An independent exercise of judgment has led to the following results, which we shall indicate as briefly as possible, while the numerous circumstances combining to produce them must be omitted.

The best method of conducting the inquiry is that pursued by De Wette, who reckons backward from the apostle's captivity at Rome to his conversion. It is easier to determine the exact period of Paul's imprisonment than any other chronological point of importance; and therefore we have adopted it as the safest starting point. In proceeding backwards however, it is necessary to unite the opposite and natural method with it, wherever available. *Neither* mode can be pursued to the rigid exclusion of the other.

Josephus relates, that after Festus had been sent into Judea to succeed Felix, the heads of the Jews at Caesarea went to Rome to accuse the latter, who would have been punished but for the entreaties of his brother Pallas.[q] Tacitus again says, that Pallas died of poison under the consuls Marius and Asinius[r] (*i. e.* A.D. 62). Hence Felix must have lost the procuratorship of Judea in 62 at the latest, and Paul must have arrived in Rome in the spring of 63 at the latest. But he could not have arrived so early as the spring of 63, for by adding the two years of his imprisonment to that, we obtain 65 as the *terminus ad quem* of Luke's history in the Acts. According to Tacitus, the fearful persecution of the Christians under Nero began A.D. 64,[s] and Paul could scarcely have escaped, much less have lived peaceably in his hired house and spoken with all confidence, *no man forbidding him* (Acts xxviii. 30, 31), after that persecution broke out. Hence we are reduced to the spring of 62 at the latest, as

[p] In the Tübingen Zeitschrift for 1833, i. 12; et seq.
[q] Antiq. xx. 8, 9 [r] Annales, xiv. 65. [s] Ibid. xv. 41.

the time of his arrival in Rome, and 64 must be the *extreme terminus ad quem* of the apostolic history.[t]

A variety of considerations tend to prove, that Felix lost his procuratorship in the summer of A.D. 60, and that Festus was sent immediately to succeed him. But if Festus arrived at Caesarea in the summer of the year 60, Paul must have gone to Rome in the spring of 61.

A.D. 58. Two years before the procuratorship of Festus, Paul had been taken prisoner at Jerusalem, and detained under Felix (Acts xxiv. 27).

He had been at Philippi at the Passover (xx. 6); and after it was past, he had set out for *Jerusalem, whither he arrived at the time of Pentecost*, and was apprehended in the temple (Acts xx. 6, 16; xxi. 17).

Before coming to Philippi he had been in Greece three months (Acts xx. 3).

57. He left Ephesus and went to Macedonia and Greece; whither he arrived about the end of the year (Acts xx. 1, etc.).

He spent three years in Ephesus (Acts xix. 8, 10; xx. 31). Hence his arrival at it must be in the year

54. The date of his coming to Ephesus (Acts xix. 1), shortly before winter.

Before coming to Ephesus he had travelled over Galatia and Phrygia, after leaving Antioch (Acts xviii. 23). It is said that he spent *some time* in Antioch. He had gone from Jerusalem to Antioch. The entire journey from Jerusalem to Ephesus would require about half a year, and he had left the former after Pentecost (Acts xviii. 21).

53. *Fourth visit to Jerusalem* from Corinth by Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18, 22). In Corinth he had been for a year and a half (Acts xviii. 11), so that his arrival in it must have been early in 52.

[t] See Wieseler's Chronologie, pp. 12, 13.

A.D. 52. His arrival at Corinth was soon after Claudius issued his edict expelling the Jews from Italy, for Paul met Aquila and Priscilla there, who had been obliged to leave the imperial city on that account (Acts xviii. 1, 2).

51. *The second missionary tour* from Antioch, in company with Silas (Acts xv. 36—xviii. 1).

51. *The third visit to Jerusalem* from Antioch (Acts xv. 2, etc., and Galat. ii. 1, etc.).

45—49? *The first missionary tour* (Acts xiii. xiv.).

Before it, had occurred the death of Agrippa I. in A.D. 44 (Josephus, Antiq. xix. 8, 2). See Acts xii. 23.

44. *Second visit to Jerusalem*, from Antioch (Acts xi. 30). In the latter place he had been one year (Acts xi. 25, etc.); so that Barnabas brought him to it in

43. Before coming to Antioch in 43, he had been an indefinite time at Tarsus, probably two years. Hence he came to Tarsus some time in

41. To Tarsus (Acts ix. 30).

41. *First visit to Jerusalem*, three years after his conversion (Galat. i. 18; Acts ix. 26). Hence his conversion falls in the year 38.

38. *Paul's conversion.*

In the epistle to the Galatians (ii. 1) it is said, that he went up to Jerusalem fourteen years after his conversion. This appears to have been his *third* visit to the city (A.D. 51). The date and visit in question coincide with A.D. 38, the year in which he was converted. The reading *fourteen* in Gal. ii. 1, cannot be disturbed without doing violence to the principles of criticism.

According to this view, the dates of the principal events taken in their natural order, are the following:—

Conversion of Paul	38.
First journey to Jerusalem . . .	41.
He goes from Tarsus to Antioch . .	43.
Second visit to Jerusalem	44.

Third visit to Jerusalem	51.
Arrival at Corinth	52.
Fourth visit to Jerusalem	53.
Paul in Ephesus	54—57.
Fifth visit to Jerusalem and apprehension	58.
Sent to Rome	60.
Arrival at Rome	61.
Death, beginning of	64.

The preceding summary is presented as a probable view of the chronology of the apostle's life. Both absolute and relative chronology lead *nearly* to the given results.

The *subjoined Table* is taken from those of Anger and Wieseler, with some additions, and will be found more complete than any hitherto published.

In the preceding summary of the apostle's life it was assumed, that the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in the epistle to the Galatians (second chapter), is identical with that narrated in the Acts of the Apostles (xv. 1, etc.). The question however demands a separate investigation, since it is not settled in the view of critics. We shall glance at the principal considerations that have been urged on different sides by separate inquirers.

Four opinions have been advocated.

1. Some think that the journey spoken of in the Galatian epistle is not noticed by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. Beza, Schrader, Paley, and Tate take this view.

2. It has been identified with the *fourth* visit (Acts xviii. 18-22) by Van Til and Koehler. Rückert and Credner also incline to this view, which has been recently adopted and defended by Wieseler.

3. It is supposed to be the same as the *second*, by the Paschal Chronicle, Calvin, Bloch, Paulus, Keil, Süskind, Kuinoel, Küchler, Flatt, Böhl, Ulrich, Böttger, and Fritzsche.

It is viewed as identical with the *third*, by Irenaeus, Pearson, Semler, Koppe, Vogel, Haselaar, Henke, Schmidt, Stroth, Borger, Eichhorn, Schott, Hug, Koppe, Winer, Usteri, Matthies, Olshausen, Anger, Hemsen, Schneckenburger, Neander, Macknight, De Wette, Burton, Greswell, and others.

1. The arguments in favour of the first hypothesis are necessarily negative, consisting of such considerations as serve to disprove the identity of the journey in question with *any* of those described in the Acts, but chiefly its identity with *the second and third*. They will be noticed therefore in discussing the *third and fourth opinions*. Schrader inserts the journey between the twentieth and twenty-first verses of Acts xix. During the stay of the apostle at Ephesus he is supposed to have travelled to Macedonia, Corinth, Crete, Nicopolis, Jerusalem, Antioch, and back to Ephesus. But notwithstanding the great acuteness displayed by the author, and the plausible conjectures he has put forward, he has failed to convince his readers generally of the correctness of the conclusion at which he arrives. The pertinent observations of Schott weaken, if they do not effectually refute, all that Schrader has advanced in favour of his peculiar hypothesis. Paley and Tate are disposed to place the visit after Acts xiv. 28, during the long abode of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch. But they adduce no *positive arguments* in favour of this particular time.

2. The arguments of Koehler[u] in favour of its identity with the fourth visit, have been invalidated by Schott and Anger. They are weak. Few except Rückert and Credner have shewn any inclination towards this view. It is strange, therefore, that Wieseler should have embraced it. We cannot stop to examine his reasoning. It scarcely deserves a separate statement and refutation.[x] We must therefore choose between the second and third visit to Jerusalem.

3 and 4. The advocates of *the second visit* insist on the improbability of *the third*, or rather the impossibility of reconciling the statement in the epistle to the Galatians with Luke's narrative in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. The considerations adverse to the third visit are best stated by Tate and Fritzsche.[y] They are such as these:—

(*a*) Paul could not with propriety omit any of his journeys,

[u] Versuch ueber die Abfassungszeit der Epistolischen Schriften, u. s. w. p. 19, et seq.

[x] See p. 201, et seq.

[y] Opuscula, p. 224, et seq.

lest it should be asserted by his enemies that what had happened during one visit had fallen out in another.

(*b*) The adverbs πάλιν and ἔπειτα standing at the beginning of the second chapter of the Galatian epistle, especially the former which introduces a new journey and is equivalent to δεύτερον, are opposed to the omission of *the visit* recorded in the eleventh chapter of Acts, or, in other words, *the second* to Jerusalem.

In answer to these observations we remark, that there is nothing in the connexion and previous context sufficient to justify the assertion that Paul meant to narrate all his journeys to the metropolis. The twentieth and twenty-first verses of the first chapter in the epistle, do not warrant that conclusion. One visit may be passed by, and yet the adverb πάλιν be employed in beginning to speak of a succeeding journey. The particle does not necessarily refer back to the date of the first journey mentioned in chapter i. 18, though Burton speaks very confidently respecting it.[z] As to the adverb ἔπειτα, which speaks of this disputed journey, it is quite consistent with the idea that a journey was previously omitted. The particle simply introduces *a succeeding event.* It stands at the commencement of verses 18 and 21 of the first chapter, and ver. 1 of the second, implying, that the events it introduces were *successive*, the one following the other; but without conveying the idea that the second occurrence was the next *in point of time* to the first, or the third to the second. The adverb is not used in a manner so very definite. It admits of greater latitude.[a]

(*c*) It is improbable that Peter could have been guilty of such conduct in relation to the Gentile Christians, as is attributed to him in Galat. ii. 1, etc., *after* the decision of the council at Jerusalem. He would probably have opposed every attempt to establish the works of the law among the idolatrous Gentiles.

This supposed alteration of Peter's sentiments after the council, and the consequent inconsistency in his conduct, may appear a more formidable objection to the opinion of such as assume the

[z] On the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, p. 45. Works, vol. iv.
[a] Anger, De Temporum, etc. pp. 147, 148.

present journey to be the *third*. But there is nothing in the text of the second chapter of the epistle imperiously requiring that the reprimand given to Peter at Antioch should have happened *after* the journey described at the commencement of the same chapter. That journey may have been the third to Jerusalem, and yet the rebuke have been given *before*. Hug and Schneckenburger, who identify the journey with the third, place the meeting of Peter and Paul at Antioch *before* the convention of apostles and elders in Jerusalem. This opinion proceeds on the ground that Paul does not follow chronological order in narrating the events of his previous life—a ground perfectly tenable. But it appears much more natural to place the description of such an event as that at Antioch, *after* the journey alluded to in the commencement of the chapter. There is nothing in the narrative indicating the necessity of transposition. The apostle indeed does not always pursue chronological exactness; but yet there is no reason for violating it so obviously as Hug's hypothesis does. The speech of Peter at the council shews, that his sentiments were sufficiently liberal. He knew that the Gentiles had been freed from the yoke of the law, and boldly pronounced any attempt to impose it on them again as a *tempting of God*. Did his opinions become less liberal afterwards? No change came over them. The conduct censured by Paul proceeded from *fear*, not from *ignorance*. Afraid of the converted Jews, Peter refused to eat with the Gentiles. He dissembled, and was guilty of hypocrisy.

(*d*) It is farther asserted, that Paul abated somewhat of his anti-Jewish notions after the council; for he himself circumcised Timothy in opposition to his former ideas (Gal. v. 2). Hence it is inferred that a visit *prior to his third* is intended in the epistle, when his anti-Jewish ideas were so strong as to prevent him from yielding to the Judaising teachers in the matter of circumcision.

In regard to the notions of Paul concerning the Jewish christians who had still a lingering attachment to the Mosaic law, we cannot perceive a real difference between their more lenient and severer phases. They were invariably the same; equally strong at one time as at another. He always opposed the observance of circumcision when it was insisted on as *necessary* to the Gentile converts. Hence he would not yield to the false brethren who

wished Titus to be circumcised. *There* he regarded principle as involved, and resolutely withstood the Judaisers. But on the other hand, from prudent accommodation to the weakness and prejudices of the Jewish converts, he took and circumcised Timothy. He became all things to all men where principle was not at stake, yielding to the infirmities of the weaker brethren so far as that could be effected without violating truth. Whenever the gospel could be advanced, he was willing to yield as much as Christian integrity would allow. Thus the difference of his conduct, under different circumstances, argues no variation in his sentiments. The necessity of Mosaic observances to Jewish converts he ever opposed. We maintain, therefore, that the record in Acts xvi. 3, xxi. 20-26, harmonises with the general time of the Galatian epistle.

(*e*) Paul is said, in the epistle, to have gone up *by revelation;* but in the Acts we read, that he was deputed by the church at Antioch. He also communicated his mode of preaching among the Gentiles *privately* to the "pillars of the church;" but if this formed the subject of his public mission, there was no reason for such private interview.

It is perfectly consistent to say, that he went up to Jerusalem as *a deputy* from the church at Antioch, while he went up *by revelation*, and it is remarkable that the clear-headed Paley should have adduced the two things as not accordant. The subject was of so much importance, that God vouchsafed to the apostle a peculiar revelation regarding it, directing him what to do, and how to proceed. It was so intimately connected with the truth of the gospel, the liberty of the Gentile converts, and the peace of the newly-formed churches, that a supernatural communication was given relative to the matter. We are not informed of the manner in which the proposal to send the deputation originated. Probably it was suggested by Paul himself. But whether it originated with the church at Antioch, or with himself, it is reconcilable with the fact, that he had *a divine illumination* directing him to go. It is almost unnecessary to allude to the alleged superfluousness of his private interview with the most eminent apostles, because it related to the subject of his public mission. Before the public consultation was held, there

was a private conference of the apostles. The latter was important towards effecting the object sought to be attained at the former. It was necessary that the most eminent apostles should know from Paul himself, that the gospel he preached among the Gentiles was the same as theirs; and that it was sanctioned of heaven in the great results attending its proclamation. In this way, the apostles of the Jews were divested of the prejudices they may have entertained against Paul's conduct in publishing the gospel to the Gentiles, if indeed they *did* entertain any prejudice against him on that account.

(*f*) In the epistle, Barnabas and Titus are both mentioned as Paul's companions; but in the Acts, Paul, Barnabas, and certain others, are sent on the mission. Titus is not mentioned.

But Titus is never mentioned in the book of the Acts; and the *omission* of certain names does not exclude their presence, except it be expressly stated that *only* certain persons were present. Titus may well be included in the *certain others* who accompanied Paul and Barnabas. Fritzsche indeed objects, that ἐξ αὐτῶν (Acts xv. 2) probably refers to the opponents of Paul and Barnabas, and must therefore exclude Titus; but the nominative to the verb ἔταξαν (ἀδελφοὶ), and the τινας ἄλλους prefixed to ἐξ αὐτῶν, manifestly refer to *the brethren*, not to *the persons who had come down from Judea.*

(*g*) "The apostles with whom Paul had his conference were expressly James, Cephas or Peter, and John (ii. 9).

"In the Acts, St. John most certainly does not appear: an omission perfectly unaccountable, supposing him (in the early part of the Acts) the constant associate of Peter, to have been in Jerusalem at so critical a time."[b]

Because John is not mentioned in the Acts, it does not follow that he was not there in Jerusalem.

(*h*) The objects of the journey in the two cases were dissimilar. "In the epistle, the direct object was to have Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles as a peculiar and separate commission duly recognised: in the Acts, the question to be settled was this—Whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity,

[b] Tate's Continuous History of St. Paul, p. 142.

that Gentile converts must conform themselves to the law of Moses?"[c]

Here again there is no direct contrariety. *Various* reasons may have co-operated in inducing the apostle to go to Jerusalem. He wished to have a private conference with the apostles, that there might be a perfect understanding among them; and to explain in public the manner of his preaching among the Gentiles. These points were intimately connected with the particular question for whose settlement he had been delegated by the church at Antioch.

(*j*) The observation of the apostle that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised (Gal. ii. 3), does not coincide with what is related in Acts xv. 10, 28, where Peter and James themselves absolve the Gentiles from circumcision. So Fritzsche. But it is not said that the *apostles* insisted on Titus's circumcision. *The false brethren* seem to have done so.

(*k*) Had the apostles gone so far in their concessions at that time, Paul *must* have emphatically exhibited the fact in the epistle to the Galatians. So Fritzsche reasons.

It is presumptuous to speak so positively of what he must have done. The argumentum *e silentio* is here invalid.

(*l*) The δοκοῦντες (Gal. ii. 2) are the *apostles;* but in Acts xv. 2, *the apostles and elders* are mentioned. So Fritzsche. But the pronoun *αὐτοῖς* in the former passage refers to the members of the church, and of course includes the elders.

(*m*) Paley has another objection, which is also found in Keil, to the following effect: "In the account which the epistle gives of what passed upon this visit at Jerusalem, no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree which are recorded in the Acts, and which, according to that history, formed the business for the sake of which the journey was undertaken. The mention of the council and of its determination, whilst the apostle was relating his proceedings at Jerusalem, could hardly have been avoided, if in truth the narrative belong to the same journey."[d]

The writer himself has furnished a reply: "The epistle argues

[c] Tate's Continuous History of St. Paul, p. 142.

[d] Horae Paulinae: in Works, 5 vols., vol. ii. p. 220.

the point upon principle; and it is not perhaps more to be wondered at, that in such an argument St. Paul should not cite the apostolic decree, than it would be that in a discourse designed to prove the moral and religious duty of observing the sabbath, the writer should not quote the thirteenth canon."[e] To this it may be added, that Paul makes no mention of it on other occasions, such as 1 Cor. x., Romans xiv. The true reason seems to be the independent position he always took, and the abundant opportunities he had of enforcing the doctrine of the decree in the course of his teachings. Hence it does not follow that because the apostolic decisions are unmentioned by Paul in the Galatian epistle, they must have been made subsequently.

The positive arguments in favour of the second journey are such as the following:—

It is probable, that after Paul had begun to preach to the Gentiles, he laid his manner of teaching before the apostles in Jerusalem, that he might be established in it. So Fritzsche reasons.

He needed no confirmation of this kind in regard to himself. He was firmly convinced of its perfect truth by *the revelation* he had received from above.

After Paul and Barnabas had been recognised as preachers to the Gentiles by the apostles at Jerusalem, their designation is related in Acts xiii. 2, etc. So Fritzsche. There is no doubt, however, that Paul had previously preached among the Gentiles with success. He preached in Cilicia, if not in Arabia.

The circumstance of the apostles at Jerusalem reminding Paul and Barnabas that they should remember the poor (Gal. ii. 9), was suggested by their having brought contributions (Acts xi. 30). So Fritzsche argues. This however is not found in the narrative. The suggestion would have been more appropriate at a later period.

Other considerations are even weaker than those stated, and need not be adduced at present. It is exceedingly difficult in short to bring the journey described in the epistle into coincidence with that spoken of in Acts xi. 30. At that time, Paul

[e] Horae Paulinae: in Works, 5 vols., vol. ii. p. 221.

could scarcely have contrasted himself, as the apostle of the Gentiles, with Peter, as the apostle of the Jews. The antithesis would have been premature, and not justified by the position of Paul. Again; in Acts xi. 30, Paul appears in a subordinate relation to Barnabas, the elder preacher of the gospel; while in Gal. ii. 1, etc. he assumes an independent position. Hence the journeys must have been different. Fritzsche's reply to this is unsatisfactory.

Still farther, Paul could scarcely have passed over the journey described in Acts xv. in the Galatian epistle. It was directly pertinent to his object. Fritzsche, however, for the purpose of neutralising this assertion, affirms that it was enough for Paul, in accordance with the object he had in view, to say, that at the second visit (Acts xi. 30) the apostles had recognised his commission. But it may be asked, *Did* the apostles then recognise his apostolic authority? The record in the Acts is silent on the point, and there is no reason for assuming the fact.

Again; it would appear, from Acts xii. 17, that Peter was not in Jerusalem at the time alluded to in Acts xi. 30. Hence it could not be the same visit as is mentioned in the Galatian epistle. In answer to this, Fritzsche thinks that Paul and Barnabas had fulfilled their mission *before the death of James*. But the language of Acts is unfavourable to that opinion. It is very questionable whether the fulfilment of their mission preceded James's execution.

In addition to other considerations, the chronology is much embarrassed by the view of Fritzsche and others, so much so that he is obliged to assume that Paul abode *nine* years in Cilicia. This is an inconceivably long period, and in every view of the case improbable. Even on the supposition that the *third* visit is meant, the fourteen years we read of in the epistle create difficulty, as they presuppose a period of about six years, which we know not how to fill up sufficiently; but on the supposition that the *second* visit is meant, the difficulty is greatly increased; *the fourteen years being counted from the apostle's conversion*. And we have no doubt that the fourteen years should be thus dated. The *terminus a quo* is not the *Ascension*, as the Paschal Chronicle asserts. There is not the remotest allusion to the ascension in

the preceding context. Neither is it at all probable that it is Paul's first visit to Jerusalem; though weighty names appear in favour of this sentiment. Rather must it be Paul's *conversion;* that event constituting an epoch in his life, or rather the commencement of his true life. It presented itself therefore most readily to his mind as a prominent point whence he might reckon. Such is the view taken by Baronius, Spannheim, Pearson, Semler, Keil, Vogel, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, Anger, Fritzsche, Wieseler, and others.

Let us now sum up the considerations favourable to the identity of the visit described in the epistle with the *third* spoken of in Acts xv.

1. Barnabas went with Paul to Jerusalem in the journey described in the epistle, as well as in that noticed in Acts xv. In both, too, we find that Barnabas joined Paul in opposing the necessity of Gentile converts observing circumcision. Hence it is written, "Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them" (Acts): "to whom *we* gave place by subjection; no, not for an hour," etc. (Galat.)

2. Certain others went with Paul and Barnabas. Hence it is written in the history, "they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and *certain other* of them, should go up to Jerusalem," etc.; and in the epistle, "I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also." As Titus is systematically excluded from the Acts, he is not named on this occasion, but must be included in the *certain others.*

3. The question to be determined by the visit was the same in both cases. The history states, that Paul went up respecting the point whether Gentile converts should be circumcised; while the letter states, as the result of the apostle's visit, that Titus, though a Greek, was not compelled to be circumcised.

4. The letter supposes that the visit took place after Paul had been eminently successful in converting the Gentiles, so that the apostles plainly saw he had been specially called of God to that work. "When they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in

me toward the Gentiles). And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that *we* should go unto the heathen, and *they* unto the circumcision." This language agrees well with the supposition that the first missionary tour had been concluded; at the end of which Barnabas and Paul "rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv. 27). No activity of Paul among the Gentiles, previously to his first missionary tour, reaches to the full extent and meaning of the language ἐνήργησε καμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, or justifies the contrast in which he places himself to Peter.

5. The letter speaks of certain "false brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus." In the history, the apostolic decree speaks of "certain which went out from us, who have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment."[f]

The conclusion resulting from our examination of the question is, that the visit described in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, and that spoken of in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, are identical. The *apparent* discrepancies serve but to confirm the identity.[g] As to *real* discrepancies, and *actual opposition* between the two places, the idea cannot be entertained, even after Baur's endeavour to set those differences in as strong a light as possible.[h] Well has Wieseler invalidated the force of his reasoning, though crippled by his own hypothesis and conceding too much in consequence.

Education and character of the apostle.—The birthplace of Paul was celebrated for learning and eloquence. According to Strabo,[i] the inhabitants excelled even those of Athens and Alexandria, in their devotion to philosophy and the entire circle of polite literature. This fact, in connexion with the quotations of various Greek poets found in his epistles, gave rise

[f] See Biley's Supplement to Paley's Horae Paulinae, No. 2. p. 8, etc.
[g] See De Wette on Galat. ii. 1.
[h] Paulus, etc. p. 120, et seq.
[i] Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 673. ed. Casaubon.

to the belief that the apostle was early instructed in Greek literature. The great advantages offered by the city of Tarsus are supposed to have been eagerly embraced by his parents, so that their son soon became a master in the learning of the day. "In this place," says Harwood,[k] "so celebrated for philosophy and science, the apostle went through a course of Greek learning, and acquired that knowledge and acquaintance with its most elegant writers, whom we find him sometimes quoting." In conformity also with a practice noticed by Strabo respecting the inhabitants, who, after laying a good foundation in their native city, went abroad to finish their education, the removal of Paul to Jerusalem is said to have taken place. Having passed through a course of liberal education at home, he travelled abroad like other students to perfect himself in the same or other branches of learning. But there is great reason for doubting the accuracy of these extravagant statements respecting the apostle in his early years. Treasures of learning have been attributed to him, which he does not seem to have possessed. All the erudition of the Greeks has been liberally poured into his mind, for the purpose of doing him honour. That honour, however, is of questionable character, which wants the basis of perfect truth. The evidence in favour of Paul's having gone through a course of liberal education in Tarsus is insufficient. The mere fact of the city being celebrated at that time for its schools of philosophy and science does not prove that Paul frequented them. The distance at which the Hellenistic Jews lived from the Greeks is adverse to the supposition. Even those of them who resided among the latter for a considerable time were not on terms of familiar intercourse, but usually kept aloof from their society. The words of Menander, cited in 1 Cor. xv. 33; of Epimenides, in Titus i. 12; and of Aratus, in Acts xvii. 28, are no proof that the apostle read the original works. He may have learned the first two from social intercourse, not from personal reading, particularly as they partake of the nature of proverbs which circulate widely by oral tradition. Tholuck indeed thinks that the quotation from Aratus cannot be disposed of thus, because it exactly agrees with the original, even to the particle γάρ.

[k] A new Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 146.

Accordingly, he conjectures that Paul got the passage from the work of Aratus itself, when subsequently perusing it in Cilicia. Whatever probability there be in this hypothesis, it is certain that the citations from Greek authors, were they even more numerous than they are, do not prove his familiarity with Greek literature. As to other quotations, there is no ground for assuming their existence. That the language of 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16, and 2 Tim. iv. 7, is taken from Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, or that certain passages in the Greek poets were present to the apostle's mind when he made use of the words in those texts, is vain conjecture. All evidence of designed similarity in them is slight and worthless.

Neither has the custom of completing the education in foreign cities any legitimate bearing on Paul's removal to Jerusalem. It refers to Greeks, not to Jews. Had the culture, then, of his native city no influence on the mind of the young Saul? Probably it had a general influence on his education, not considerable, but yet perceptible. The prevalence of the Greek language in Tarsus gave him greater facility in the use of it; as the intellectual atmosphere of the city could scarcely fail to reach even Hellenistic Jews. The susceptible spirit of the youth must have imbibed something healthful from the general tone of thinking and culture, however inconsiderable the definite amount of his acquisition may have been. Coming into occasional contact with the Greeks, he learned something perhaps of their writers, though he did not himself study their works. Had the apostle been trained in the Grecian schools of Tarsus, and familiarised himself with the principal authors in literature, the fact could have been distinctly traced in the structure of his style, the mode of his argumentation, and the arrangement of his ideas. These however do not evince intimate converse with the Greek poets or orators.

It ought not however to be unnoticed that, in the opinion of some, Paul himself intimates *the writing* of Greek to have been a difficult task to him. And if he was not master of the Greek chirography, he was not acquainted with Greek literature. Thus in the epistle to the Galatians (vi. 11) we read, "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand:"

i. e. "with what large, stiff, misshapen letters I have written unto you," as several of the fathers and some modern commentators explain it. But the interpretation in question, though grammatically possible, does not agree well with the context. The circumstance is supposed to be mentioned as a proof of the writer's affection for them; but it is a circuitous and not very natural method of expressing such regard. Besides, the words "with mine own hand" are superfluous. The common acceptation is every way preferable—"how large a letter I have written," etc.; and if it be correct, the whole passage has no bearing on the apostle's acquaintance with Grecian literature.

It must therefore be held, that Saul was trained in his father's home before he was sent from Tarsus. The source of his learning was the Old Testament, in which he was instructed after the Pharisaic mode. The traditions current among the Pharisees formed an element in his juvenile lessons. It is probable, however, that the Old Testament Scriptures themselves were his chief study. But having been intended for a learned man or doctor, he was sent to Jerusalem, where he had the advantage of attending the instructions of the celebrated Gamaliel.

It is difficult to trace the influence which the rabbinical education received by the apostle in Jerusalem had on his modes of thought, expression, and life, after he became a teacher of Christianity. That it *did* exert a considerable influence over them is as indubitable as it is in harmony with the laws of the human mind. The discipline through which he passed in early life formed part of his training for the high office he was destined to sustain. Though tinged with Jewish narrowness, it was purified and enlarged, so as to subserve the promotion of Christianity. The prevailing faculty of the apostle's mind was *the dialectic* or *reasoning*. This may be partly traced to the Jewish system of instruction. While he had unquestionably original powers of a high order, they must have been at once strengthened and sharpened by the metaphysical and ethical questions with which they were often exercised, as well as the catechetical form of teaching. The learner was permitted to ask questions of the teacher. Hence his perception was quickened. Consistently with these phenomena, we behold the eminently didactic, logical character of the

apostle's mind, the interrogations he employs, and the numerous allusions to the objections of opponents. In this manner too, he acquired an uncommon familiarity with the Old Testament scriptures, which he quotes so often. It is even thought by many, that he always quoted from memory; though this appears to be improbable. In some instances, it is wholly uncertain whether his memory referred to the original Hebrew, or to the Septuagint. We will not deny that he cited occasionally from memory; but that he did so without exception is an extreme opinion. One thing is evident, viz. that his copious allusions to the Hebrew writings shew his intimate acquaintance with them. The manner, moreover, in which he deduces subtile expositions, or hidden meanings from them, is attributable to Jewish culture. We are often reminded of the *midrashim* of the Jewish doctors. We meet with approximations to allegorising, as in Galat. iv. 22, etc. The source of certain forms of reasoning on the Old Testament cannot be more aptly found than in the hermeneutics of the learned Jews.

To his Jewish education is also owing his acquaintance with their traditions regarding names and events, of which there is an example in 2 Tim. iii. 8.

Nothing strikes a reader more forcibly than the facility with which the apostle accommodates the Old Testament to the purpose of illustration. How pertinent are his elucidations derived from that source. How natural do they appear in his hands, though not unfrequently introduced unexpectedly. Surely none other than a master could have shewn such ready skill in the matter.

But it must not be supposed that his Jewish education was permitted to exert an injurious influence on his thoughts and composition, after he had entered on his apostolic work. It did not furnish him with ideas, so much as it moulded their drapery. It affected *the form* rather than *the substance* of his teaching. The latter he got by revelation *essentially;* the former was largely the result of his own mind. The conceptions, which originated in a higher source than his own understanding, received their hue as they passed through the human instrument. Though their spring was heavenly, they assumed their complexion within the mental

organism; and we are sure that the latter was early and permanently affected by the educational process through which it passed.

How far the disposition and sentiments of the teacher affected the disciple, there are not sufficient data to determine. The notice we have of Gamaliel in the New Testament, shews him to have been of mild and prudent character; more moderate than the Pharisees generally were. But the tolerant spirit of the master does not seem to have fallen on the pupil. The latter imbibed *the precepts* more readily than he imitated *the disposition* of the man from whom they proceeded. The great independence he displayed, especially if he came to know something of the gospel while yet under the tuition of the famous doctor, may be admired, though it took a wrong direction. He persecuted the Christians, when different conduct might have been expected from the disciple of the mild Gamaliel. It is true that the one was in the fiery period of youth, while age and reflection may have mellowed the mind of the other; but even the impetuous and intolerant are affected by the example of those whom age and wisdom combine to invest with gravity.

Every view of the subject conducts to the conclusion that the apostle, judged by the relations of his time, was a man of large attainments. His spirit was active, quick, inquisitive. Hence he could not have been ignorant of the current philosophical speculations, though attaching little value to them. In the conventional use of the term he was not a *philosopher;* but in the highest sense of it, he undoubtedly was so. He traces, as a true philosopher, the phenomena of mind and matter to their causes, and views them in their spiritual connexions with Deity, man, the invisible world. His mind was cast in a philosophical mould, as is shewn by the mode in which he treats the subjects discussed; but it is very unlikely that he studied the philosophical systems of the day in order to obtain a systematic acquaintance with their nature. They were too shadowy for the solid judgment of one enriched with a nobler science.

A few incidental expressions have been laid hold of for the purpose of demonstrating the apostle's familiarity with *Roman jurisprudence*. They are too precarious, however, to support any

other idea than that he had some general knowledge of the right belonging to Roman citizens as distinguished from others.

But it cannot be doubted that he was acquainted with the *Latin language*. He could both speak and write it.

It is not needful in the present place to undertake a delineation of the apostle's *character*, as it may be gathered from the history of his life and writings. That scarcely comes within the plan proposed. It borders on the practical discourse more than the region of *Introduction*. Yet it is an inviting theme, and fraught with high instruction to the student of Scripture. Nor is it very difficult to discern the *leading features* of Paul's character. They stand forth prominently to view. Their outlines are strongly marked. Here no feeble lines elude the inquirer's notice. All is written in legible and luminous letters. At the same time it is not easy to do *full justice* to the qualities so conspicuous in the apostle of the Gentiles. To unfold them in terms adequate to the subject, with just perception of their mutual relations and modifying influence on one another, or with fitting skill in adjusting their relative value, demands the hand of a master. An uncommon portrait presents itself. Where is the philosopher whose soul sympathises so entirely with the original as to describe its essential features at once with the necessary comprehensiveness and minuteness?

The reader cannot fail to be immediately struck with the apostle's *independence* and *decision*. Hesitation did not enter into his temperament. He took his position without lingering timidity or fear of committing himself to a cause, lest it might prove other than he had calculated. With strong natural abilities, he formed a judgment, and followed it boldly wherever it led him. The admirable words of a distinguished essayist are most appropriate to him: "The energy of his determination was so great, that instead of being habitual, it had been shewn only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being unintermitted it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of anything like turbulence or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to

more, and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was a pitch of excitement and impulsion almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds; as a great river, in its customary state is equal to a small or moderate one when swollen to a torrent."

In this *decision* of character both *fire* and *firmness* are essential elements, and they are every where conspicuous in him. He threw his whole soul into his work. Hence we see his excess of zeal in persecuting the Christians, and afterwards his amazing activity in the apostolic work. In labours he was more abundant than all his associates. Nothing quenched the fire of his spirit, or damped the energy of his mind. The quality of *firmness* is frequently deficient in the ardent temperament, but it was not wanting in him. He exhibited it on all occasions. How could he be otherwise than inflexibly firm whose soul was lighted up with the ever-burning fire of unquenchable love to Jesus?

But notwithstanding all his energy, *tenderness* and *delicacy* are displayed by him. We observe delicate touches—tender strokes, evincing the consummate orator as well as the large-hearted Christian.

He had besides a *many-sidedness* of intellectual vision, which enabled him to look at a subject in a variety of aspects. Not only was he profound and speculative, entering into the depth of the themes with which his soul was occupied, but he saw their comprehensive relations. He was able to view Christianity as a whole, and to unfold it in more systematic form than the other apostles.

Little is known of the apostle's *bodily appearance*. It is generally believed that the external conformation of individuals bears an analogy to their mental characteristics—a strong mind being usually lodged in an athletic frame. But there have been striking exceptions to this rule. A powerful genius does not always exhibit itself in connexion with the outwardly strong. Even in the case of reformers—those who appear in the pages of the world's history as leaving the largest and most permanent impression for good on the condition of humanity—this has not been always true. Nor did it hold good in the apostle's case.

Though he possessed a body capable of enduring fatigue and labour to an incredible extent, yet it was diminutive and insignificant (2 Cor. x. 10). His whole figure was the very reverse of commanding. In the dialogue of Philopatris, which is as old as the middle of the fourth century, he is called the Galilean with the bald head and aquiline nose (*ἀναφαλαντίας* and *ἐπίῤῥινος*).

His *temperament* is thought by Tholuck to have been a compound of the *melancholic* and *choleric*—the one element turning the mind to the inner world, the other to the world without. According to the division of temperaments now adopted, the nervous and sanguine both belonged to him; but the former in greater degree than the latter.

With such qualifications, and inspired by the highest motives in the highest cause, it is not surprising that his eloquence has been universally acknowledged. Our apostle has been justly ranked among the best orators. He has been compared with Demosthenes, Isocrates, and others. Thus Dionysius Longinus, the new Platonist in the third century, a celebrated rhetorician, writes:—*Κορωνὶς δ' ἔστω λόγου παντὸς καὶ φρονήματος Ἑλληνικοῦ Δημοσθένης, Λυσίας, Αἰσχίνης, Ὑπερίδης, Ἰσαῖος, Δεινάρχος, Δημοσθένης ὁ Κρίθινος, Ἰσοκράτης, Ἀντίφων· πρὸς τούτοις Παῦλος ὁ Ταρσεύς, ὃν τινα καὶ πρῶτόν φημι προϊστάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτου.*[1]

"Let the following men be taken as the summit of all eloquence and of Grecian genius, Demosthenes, Lysias, Aeschines, Hyperides, Isaeus, Dinarchus or Demosthenes Crithinus, Isocrates, Antiphon; to whom may be added Paul of Tarsus, who was the first within my knowledge that did not make use of demonstration." According to Longinus he *persuaded*, rather than *demonstrated*.

Jerome too writes:—"Paulum apostolum proferam, quem quotiescunque lego videor mihi non verba audire sed tonitrua. Legite epistolas ejus, et maxime ad Romanos, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, in quibus totus in certamine positus est, et videbitis eum in testimoniis, quae sumit de veteri Testamento, quam artifex, quam prudens, quam dissimulator sit ejus, quod agit. Videntur

[1] See Hug's Einleit. ii. pp. 285, 286.

quaedam verba simplicia, et quasi innocentis hominis rusticani, et qui nec facere nec declinare noverit insidias; sed quocunque respexeris, fulmina sunt. Haeret in causa, capit omne, quod tetigerit; tergum vertit ut superet, fugam simulat ut occidat."[m]

"I will produce the apostle Paul, for when I read him methinks I hear not words but peals of thunder. Peruse his epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, in which he is wholly engrossed in dispute, and you will see, in the testimonies he takes from the Old Testament, how careful, how prudent he is, and how much he conceals what he is doing. Some words appear simple as if proceeding from a plain countryman, who neither knew the art of doing nor refusing; but wherever you look they are thunderbolts. He adheres to his cause; he takes possession of everything he touches; he turns the back that he may conquer; he feigns retreat that he may slay the enemy."

In modern times, Eichhorn, no mean judge, though not believing in his inspiration, thus characterises him:—"He was born as it were to be a preacher of the faith. He possessed an active, quick spirit, a fiery temperament, a lively fancy, a genius capable of anything. To these natural parts he was indebted for a large stock of ideas on every subject that came before him—an unexpected, surprising succession of thought; wit, flow and animation of speech, to which every figure came unsought and in the most suitable place; exclamation, interrogation, solemn appeal, irony, sarcasm; a fluency of words never deficient in synonymes; a stream of language impeded by no tedious choice of terms; a native, natural eloquence. What he uttered was an effusion of genius. And since he was quickened by a most intimate participation in all that Christianity is and offers, as he spoke from the heart, can we wonder if in his oral discourses he affected, transported, filled with enthusiasm, and carried along with him those very persons who perceived in his discourse the want of all elegance, even incorrectness of Greek speech."[n]

[m] Pro Libris adv. Jovinian. Apologia, tom. ii. p. 73.

[n] Einleitung in d. N. T. vol. iii. p. 18.

Writings of the apostle.—Antiquity is unanimous in attributing *thirteen* epistles to the apostle as their author. The fourteenth, viz. the epistle to the Hebrews, has been matter of dispute. But though early Christian writers assign these letters to Paul, the authenticity of several has been attacked in modern times. Little success however has attended attempts, from whatever motive proceeding, to undermine the authority of productions so firmly established. They have not obtained general approbation, even from *competent judges*. And if the moderate sceptics have failed to convince the learned generally, the Tübingen school in their bolder efforts must be left to their own wayward course. The greater the number of epistles they try to destroy, the less will be their success. According to Baur, only four out of thirteen should be classed among the *Ὁμολογούμενα*, *i. e.* the two to the Corinthians, and those to the Romans and Galatians. The rest are assigned to the *Ἀντιλέγομενα*. Four only are authentic; nine are not. This hypothesis will soon be numbered among the bygone aberrations of the human mind.

In connexion with the writings of the apostle a question has been asked, Did he write any epistles besides those still preserved? Are any lost? Are there allusions to lost epistles in those which are extant?

Several passages in the New Testament appear to intimate that Paul wrote other epistles besides such as we have.

I. One of these passages occurs in the epistle to the Colossians (iv. 16): "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; *and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea*" (*καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε*).

Two different views of the meaning belonging to the last clause of the verse have been entertained.

1. An epistle written at and sent from Laodicea.

2. An epistle sent to it by Paul.

Let us examine both explanations.

1. Of this view, which prevailed in ancient times, there are various modifications.

(*a*) That it was written to Paul by the church of Laodicea.

(*b*) That it was not sent to the apostle, but to others.

(*c*) That it was a private letter from one Laodicean teacher to another.

(*d*) That it was written at Laodicea either by John or Paul.

(*a*) Here the preposition ἐκ is urged, as though it pointed to *the source* from which the letter originally issued. But the preposition *alone* is not decisive. Rather does the verb ποιήσατε in the context favour another view, viz. that the Colossians were to *procure* it *from* Laodicea, not that it had been composed and sent forth thence. And there are insuperable difficulties in the way of this view. It is impossible to assign any probable reason for the apostle's desire that the Colossians should read such a letter. It is true that a multitude of conjectures have been put forward; but they are all improbable. Some for instance have thought, that the Laodicean letter contained various questions proposed to the apostle, which he answered in the epistle to the Colossians. But the straightforward course would have been to answer the questions in an epistle to the Laodiceans themselves. Why did Paul write to the Colossians what particularly concerned the Laodiceans? If it be said, that Paul requested the Colossians to send for the letter of the Laodiceans that the former might better understand the epistle he had sent to them, it may be asked, why did he write the Colossians what they could not sufficiently understand without foreign assistance, and not write at all to the Laodiceans in reply to their letter? It is thought that the Laodiceans may have expressed themselves in such a manner as that the apostle felt constrained to refer them to the Colossians as an example; but this is not borne out by the epistle to the Colossians, where the idea ought to have been expressly mentioned. That the epistle of the Laodiceans contained complaints against the Colossians is utterly inconceivable, else the apostle would not have written as he has done.

There is no allusion in the epistle to the Colossians which would lead us to suppose that it has partial reference to an epistle sent to the writer either from Colosse or Laodicea. It does not contain replies to queries. It is as intelligible by itself as other Pauline letters.

Besides, it is difficult to conceive of the mode in which the apostle's injunction could have been carried into effect. It is very unlikely that the Laodiceans kept a copy, or that Paul knew of it. Or if it be conjectured that Tychicus and Onesimus, the bearers of the Colossian letter, carried that which the apostle had received from the Laodiceans, the idea is inconsistent with ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας; implying *endeavour* to get the Laodicean epistle.

After these remarks, we need not spend a word on the opinions that the epistle from the Laodicean church was addressed to other persons, and that it was a private letter from one Laodicean teacher to another, since both are clogged with more difficulties than the view to which we have just adverted.

(*d*) Had it been the first epistle of John written at Laodicea, it would have borne the writer's name. Who can shew, moreover, that the first epistle of John was written at Laodicea? It is impossible, on chronological grounds, that it could have been this epistle.

Those who interpret it of an epistle written by Paul at Laodicea, generally fix on the first epistle to Timothy with which to identify it. So Theophylact, Bullinger, Cocceius, Heidegger, Rus, etc. The subscription to the first epistle to Timothy agrees with this view, for it states that "the first to Timothy was written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana." But the subscriptions are worthless.

It is fatal to the view in question, that the apostle had not been at Laodicea. It is only *possible* that he visited it on his second Phrygian journey (Acts xviii. 23). Even on the supposition that he did visit it then, it is most improbable that he should have enjoined the Colossians to procure a reading of it so many years after. The connexion subsisting between the two places, would have acquainted the Colossians with its contents long before. Besides, Paul would have specified the first epistle to Timothy by the name of the person addressed, rather than by the place of composition. And then an epistle to an *individual* could not have been of much use to *the church* at Colosse. It concerned the conduct of Timothy as an evangelist, counselling

him how to act both in his private and public capacity; whereas *the church* at Colosse is addressed in the Colossian letter.

2. The only tenable hypothesis is, that the words before us allude to an epistle written by Paul to Laodicea; "the letter written to Laodicea by Paul *and brought out of* it (ἐκ), etc." This interpretation is favoured by the context. A letter addressed to the Colossians is to be read in the church of the Laodiceans; a letter out of Laodicea is to be read in the church of the Colossians. Hence propriety and parallelism require, that we should understand "the letter out of Laodicea" of a letter originally addressed to the church in that city, just as the letter to the Colossians was addressed to the church in Colosse. The same authorship therefore should be ascribed to both.

Has this letter to Laodicea, written by the apostle Paul, been lost? An epistle to the Laodiceans is extant in the Latin language. Elias Hutter translated it into Greek.

The existence of an uncanonical epistle to the Laodiceans was known so early as the close of the second century. Some uncertainty however attaches to the earliest notices, because one of the Pauline epistles in Marcion's canon was entitled, "The epistle to the Laodiceans." It would appear, that this heretic denoted the present canonical letter to the Ephesians by that title. Yet the existence of an *uncanonical* document called *the epistle to the Laodiceans* is certain also, for it is even mentioned by the author of the fragment on the canon in Muratori. It is afterwards spoken of by Jerome, Theodoret, etc., and appears in MSS. of the Vulgate belonging to the sixth century.

It is utterly impossible that the document so called can be an authentic production of the apostle Paul. It is plainly a forgery, consisting of passages taken from the epistles of the apostle, chiefly that to the Philippians. It has been edited most correctly by Anger,[o] who has given not only the original, but different versions of it — Greek, German, Anglo-Saxon.

Since therefore the epistle written by Paul to the Laodicean church cannot be identified with this apocryphal production, it must either be found in some one of the canonical epistles, or be regarded as lost.

[o] Ueber den Laodicenerbrief, p. 142, et seq.

Some identify it with the epistle to the Hebrews. Philastrius, bishop of Brescia in the fourth century, is quoted as holding this opinion:—"Sunt alii quòque qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos non adserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt aut Barnabae esse apostoli; aut Clementis, de urbe Roma episcopi: alii autem Lucae evangelistae aiunt epistolam, etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Et quia addiderunt in ea quaedam non bene sentientes, inde non legitur in ecclesia, etsi (others et, si) legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in ecclesia legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolae ipsius et ad Hebraeos interdum. The words, 'alii autem Lucae evangelistae aiunt epistolam, etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam, must be understood with Credner,[p] Anger,[q] and Wieseler;'[r] as also that he wrote it to the Laodiceans." Another testimony appears in the Codex Boernerianus, which contains the epistles of Paul without that to the Hebrews; but at their termination has the words ΠΡΟC ΛΑΟΥΔΑΚΗCΑC and a number of blank leaves. The expression in question has been thought to contain the title of the epistle to the Hebrews. This hypothesis is advocated by Schultness[s] and Stein.[t] Schneckenburger[u] is also inclined to it. But the considerations they state in favour of it are weak, and need not therefore be formally adduced. The last two writers make use of the letter in the Apocalypse addressed to the Laodicean church, instituting a comparison between it and the letter to the Hebrews, for the purpose of shewing that the same errors are censured in both, and that the leading ideas are the same. A number of single expressions in them which agree, are also adduced. But this method of proof is very uncertain. It might be applied to other epistles with as much plausibility. The evidence is far to slender. Indeed it scarcely deserves the name of *evidence*. It does not at all prove that for which it is brought forward. The very advocates of the hypothesis are far from being *convinced* of its truth.

Others identify it with the epistle to Philemon, as Wieseler

[p] Einleit. pp. 506, 507.
[q] Ueber den Laodicenerbrief, p. 29.
[r] Chronologie der Apost. Zeit. u. s. w. p. 481.
[s] In Wachler's n. Theol. Annal. for 1818.
[t] Commentar zu dem Ev. d. Lucas, p. 292.
[u] Beiträge zur Enleit. in N. T. p. 152, et seq.

has recently done, who reasons thus:—The epistle to Philemon was not addressed to Philemon alone but among others to Archippus (Philem. 1). Hence both belonged to the same place. From the notice of Archippus in Coloss. iv. 17, it may be inferred that he lived in Laodicea not in Colosse. Had he been actively employed in the Lord's service at Colosse, the epistle to the Colossians would have been specially addressed to him; and it is inconceivable why the apostle should have admonished him of his duty only through others (εἴπατε, second person). Besides, the seventeenth verse is connected with the preceding fifteenth and sixteenth verses by καὶ, and in these, Christians of Laodicea are meant; ἀσπάσασθε—καὶ ποιήσατε—καὶ εἴπατε. It agrees with this, that Archippus is expressly called bishop of Laodicea in the Apostolic Constitutions. Philemon, as well as Archippus, dwelt in Laodicea; and consequently the epistle to Philemon was addressed to Laodicea.

It is not a good thing moreover to increase unnecessarily the number of the apostle's letters, since he instructed the Christians mainly by preaching. In the present case, Paul had already sent three epistles contemporaneously, viz. to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, into those parts. The epistle to Philemon went to Laodicea, and at the same time too with the epistle to Laodicea mentioned in Coloss. iv. 16.

A circumstance of great importance is, that the supplementary notices and salutations inserted in the Colossian epistle (ii. 1; iv. 13, 15–17), which relate to the whole church of Laodicea, or to individual members of it, presuppose a peculiarity in the letter referred to (Col. iv. 16), by virtue of which such notices are wanting in the letter itself though sent contemporaneously. This phenomenon is fully explained by *the nature* of the epistle to Philemon, which is substantially a recommendatory letter on behalf of the fugitive, but now penitent slave Onesimus, to his master Philemon. Such are the chief circumstances urged by the learned writer.[x]

We are not convinced of the truth of the hypothesis. There is little real proof in the observations just made in its favour.

[x] Chronologie, u. s. w. p. 452, et seq.

And it falls to the ground if it can be shewn, that Philemon belonged to Colosse, as we still believe. Onesimus his slave is said to be ἐξ ὑμῶν (Col. iv. 9); not, as Wieseler understands it, *sprung from you* (the Colossians), but *belonging to* you; as may be seen by comparing the same phrase applied to Epaphras (Col. iv. 12). According to this language, Onesimus belonged to the church at Colosse. If so, his master belonged to the same place. The authority of the Apostolic Constitutions cannot overbalance internal probabilities. Archippus seems to have belonged to Colosse, and to have filled some office in the church. Supposing him to have been one of the teachers—a member of the presbytery—there is no reason for concluding that the epistle should have been addressed to him in particular; for it was the apostle's custom to write to individual churches, rather than their elders or bishops. To modern ideas some incongruity may appear in the precept here given to the Colossian church, especially if it be supposed that Archippus had been negligent in his duties; but modern notions are far from being a safe guide in judging of primitive usages. Even if a reproof be conveyed, which is not likely, the admonition would be far more strange if Archippus belonged to the church at Laodicea, than if he were a teacher in the church to which the admonishing party belonged.

The copulative conjunction connecting the seventeenth verse with the two preceding does not imply that Archippus resided in the very same locality as the persons mentioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth verses. The individuals in Laodicea were to be *saluted;* Archippus was to be excited to renewed activity by the church in which he taught. Besides, Paul would scarcely have enjoined *a church* to procure and read a letter addressed to *a private individual* and relating to the connexion between him and his slave. The epistle to Philemon contains nothing to justify the apostle's wish that it should be brought from Laodicea, and read in the Colossian church. Had it been addressed to the *the church* of Laodicea, and had it pertained to general matters, the case would have been different; but being sent to a private individual concerning his runaway slave, the request of Paul that it should be read in the Colossian church is singular.

The nature of the letter to Philemon is not altered, neither is

it changed into a public and general document by the fact, that Archippus is introduced into it. Archippus is said by the ancients to have been the son of Philemon; so that, in the beginning of the epistle, the household of Philemon alone are saluted.

Others identify the epistle to Laodicea with the canonical letter to the Ephesians. This opinion depends on the view taken of the latter since the time of Beza and Usher, viz. that it was *a circular letter*, written not for the church at Ephesus solely, but for several churches in that district where Ephesus is situated; and, among others, for the church of Laodicea. Thus the epistle written by Paul to Laodicea means that now called the epistle to the Ephesians. The ablest modern advocate of this view is Anger. As it is interwoven with a variety of questions relating to the epistle to the Ephesians, we shall postpone the examination of it till that letter comes before us. This course will prevent anticipation of much that ought to be said on the epistle to the Ephesians. The conclusion, however, to which we have come may be stated now, viz. that there is no valid reason for identifying the Laodicean with the canonical Ephesian epistle. *The circular character* of the letter to Ephesus is not well founded. Hence the Laodicean epistle should not be looked for in it.

The Laodicean letter has been lost. It was not designed by God to be of perpetual use in his churches. Having served its original purpose, it passed into oblivion.

No valid objection to this view arises from Col. iv. 15, where Paul requests the Colossians to salute Nymphas, because it is by no means certain whether Nymphas was a Laodicean. It is assumed indeed by many that he was such, and therefore they conclude that had Paul written a particular epistle to the Laodiceans, he would have saluted Nymphas in it, rather than in that to the Colossians. Grotius thinks that Nymphas did not reside in Laodicea; and Steiger[y] appears to agree with him. In any case, the mode in which he is mentioned in Coloss. iv. 15, does not necessarily involve the idea of his residence in Laodicea.

II. It is an ancient opinion, that a letter addressed to the Corinthians has been lost. A passage in the first epistle now

[y] Der Brief Pauli an die Kolosser, p. 324.

extant has given rise to the sentiment: ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, μὴ, κ. τ. λ. "I wrote to you *in an epistle*, not to company," etc. (1 Cor. v. 9).

In the opinion of many, the words quoted form too slender a basis for the hypothesis in question. There is no other passage in the two epistles to the Corinthians containing a similar reference, for ἐπιστολαὶ in 2 Cor. x. 10, to which some have pointed, may refer to Paul's epistles generally, of whose character the Corinthians judged by the specimen they received in *the first* which was sent to them. It is well known also that the plural, *epistles*, might be here used for the singular; so that the first canonical letter to the Corinthians might be meant by ἐπιστολαὶ in 2 Cor. x. 10. Hence we should not adopt the hypothesis of a lost epistle *hastily*, on the ground of a single passage, or rather a single expression, viz. ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

With regard to the aorist ἔγραψα, correctly rendered in our version *I wrote*, we demur to the opinion that it is strictly equivalent to the perfect. Hence the translation, *I have written*, is not correct. Others affirm that the *past* tense is here put for the *present: I wrote*, instead of *I do write*. But this position must be rejected in every case as unphilosophical. The verb γράφω, indeed, is used in a peculiar manner, both in the Greek and Latin languages, a past tense of it being apparently employed as a present. It is an apparent exception to the general rule. And yet, strictly speaking, a past tense of γράφω refers to past time; for when it is placed at the termination of a letter, it alludes to the *writing finished*. Thus the exception is *apparent* rather than *real*. So also in the Latin *scribo*. The instances adduced by Lardner and others of verbs aorist meaning present time fail to establish the point. Nearly one hundred such examples are summed up with most unphilosophical industry. Ἔγραψα must therefore be translated *I wrote*.

The article before the noun should certainly be translated *the* epistle: "I wrote to you in *the* epistle." But still this is indefinite. Is it agreeable to the *usus loquendi* to understand it of the present epistle—of that which the apostle was then writing? In proof of the affirmative, Middleton[z] refers to various passages.

[z] The Doctrine of the Greek Article, Rose's edition, p. 324, et seq.

Thus, in the epistle to the Romans, xvi. 22, *τὴν ἐπιστολήν* means *the epistle to the Romans.* In like manner, *ἡ ἐπιστολή*, in Coloss. iv. 16, signifies *the Colossian epistle; τὴν ἐπιστολήν* in 1 Thessal. v. 27, *the first Thessalonian epistle;* and *τῆς ἐπιστολῆς* in 2 Thessal. iii. 14, *the second Thessalonian epistle.* These examples are not apposite. In them the expression in question occurs *at the end of* the writing. The letters in which the phrase appears are virtually finished. It means *the letter I am now finishing.* This is quite different from the present instance, where the same expression *ἡ ἐπιστολή*, so far from referring to a letter the composition of which is all but completed, is supposed to allude particularly to the preceding verses. *Parallelism* of examples is wanting. One important circumstance creates a distinction which sets aside the similarity. *Ἡ ἐπιστολή* can only denote the present epistle when it is *virtually written*, not when it is towards the commencement.

That *ἡ ἐπιστολή* may signify *the former epistle*, is shewn by 2 Cor. vii. 8, where *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* means what is now the first epistle to the Corinthians. The article prefixed to the noun signifies *the well known* letter—that with which the readers were acquainted. Some affirm, that if the apostle had really intended to refer to a former letter, he would have written *ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ*, and not simply *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*; but the assertion is refuted by 2 Cor. vii. 8.

Those who think that the apostle refers to *the letter he was then writing*, are puzzled to find the part of it to which he alludes. Lardner thinks the allusion to be *anticipative*, and fixes on the tenth chapter. Others consider it anticipative of what the apostle will be found to have written in vi. 13; v. 18, and vii. 2. The position however is utterly untenable. Others think that the second verse of the fifth chapter is meant, although no precept prohibiting association with a fornicator is there given. Others again point to the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses, which are not appropriate, because they do not expressly enjoin the Corinthians for the first time to excommunicate the incestuous person; but *speak of Paul himself as having already determined* to deliver such an one to Satan, as though he were present in spirit, and presiding over the meeting of the church at which this should take

place. Here there is certainly an intimation to the Corinthian Christians, that they should proceed to excommunicate the offender. Yet it is not such a direct injunction as would have been addressed to them *at first* on the subject; and besides, they are regarded merely as consenting: Paul himself virtually excommunicates. The verb *παραδοῦναι*, *to deliver*, is connected with *κέκρικα*, *I have judged*. The antecedent context, therefore, does not seem appropriate as that to which *ἔγραψα* refers. No part of it exhibits a prohibition to company with fornicators. The whole contains a general exhortation to purity, and an assumption on the writer's part, that his readers should not delay to deliver, on his authority, the notorious offender to Satan. The expression, *τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, must always appear strange to those who find the allusion in the context preceding. What is the use of it, on the supposition that the second verse, or that the fifth, sixth, or seventh verses, are meant? Its presence is utterly inexplicable.

But the eleventh verse of the fifth chapter is appealed to, in which *ἔγραψα*, the same tense as here, is found along with *νυνὶ*; the adverb being explanatory of *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, and synonymous with it. Here however it is assumed, that *νυνὶ* is an adverb of time, as Morus, Pott, and Heydenreich take it. But it is a transition-particle.[a] If it were a particle of time, the union of it with *ἔγραψα* would be incongruous. *Νυνὶ ἔγραψα* is employed in the same sense here as in xii. 18, xiv. 6, xv. 20. There is no doubt that *ἔγραψα* in this verse refers to past time, equivalent to saying, "the meaning of what I wrote (in the lost epistle) was," etc.[b]

The supposition of a lost epistle in the present instance is still unpalatable to many. They argue against it, as if it were derogatory to the wisdom of the Supreme Being. Besides, it is thought unaccountable that the apostle should not notice, in any other place, the fact of his having written a letter to the Corinthians, or refer to its contents, as he does in the second epistle to the first. Why does not the writer allude to admonitions in this lost epistle, and charge his readers with direct disobedience to his

[a] See Kühner's Grammatik, § 690, 1, 2.

[b] Osiander's Commentar, p. 256.

injunctions? Such questions may be asked for ever, in the absence of all acquaintance with the *contents* of the lost epistle.

The opinion that a lost epistle is alluded to, gave rise to one purporting to proceed from the Corinthians, and a reply to it from Paul. Both are spurious documents preserved in the Armenian language. They were first published in Armenian by Masson, with a Latin translation by Wilkins, at Amsterdam, 1715; and reprinted by Fabricius in his Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, with La Croze's arguments to shew their spuriousness. Whiston defended their authenticity. Carpzov afterwards published them in Greek and Latin, with Notes by Whiston's two sons, William and George. Recently their authenticity has been defended by Rinck.[c] But Ullmann[d] has refuted his arguments. The epistles in question are manifest forgeries; and it is strange that their authenticity should have found an advocate. Jones, in his work on the canon, has given an English translation of them.

An impartial examination of the passage convinces us that the allusion can only be to a lost epistle. Such was the opinion of Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Wetstein, Bengel; and almost all recent expositors hold the same view.

III. Several letters are supposed to have been written by Paul to Seneca. But no good reason for thinking so can possibly be adduced. It is true that various Latin letters from the apostle to Seneca, and from the latter to the former, are extant, but they are evident forgeries. Both Jerome[e] and Augustine[f] refer to them. They are printed in Fabricius's Codex Apocryphus.[g]

In thus concluding that some of Paul's epistles have been lost, a class of Christians may suppose that *the perfection* of Scripture is impaired; for the notions which once prevailed respecting *the nature* of inspiration and of the canon are not obsolete. In combating the Roman Catholic Church, it was formerly usual among Protestants to abide firmly by the idea, that nothing inspired has

[c] Das Sendschreiben der Corinther an den Apostel Paulus, u. s. w.
[d] In the Heidelberg Jahrbuch. for 1823, No. 34.
[e] De Vir. illustr. cap. xii. [f] Epist. 153 ad Macedonium.
[g] Page 892, et seq.

been lost, but that the canon of Scripture has descended to our times entire and uncorrupted. Hence their aversion to an idea apparently sanctioned by a few passages, that some of Paul's epistles are not in our present canon.

We hold as firmly as our opponents, that no part of the New Testament is lost; that the canon is still entire. But it is surely a mere assumption that every thing which an apostle or evangelist may have written *was intended* to be a constituent part of the collection commonly called the New Testament, or, in other words, of the Canon. The completeness of the canon cannot be discovered by *a priori* notions, but by the *matter of fact.* Divine Providence *has preserved* certain books, and from these we conclude that none others *were designed* to be a part of the New Testament. The perfection of the canon is properly judged of by what we *have*, rather than by our ideas of that which, on a certain supposition, we *ought to have.* Hence we feel no difficulty in adopting the conclusion, on grounds apparently tenable, that some inspired epistles have been lost. That they were equally inspired with such as are extant is highly probable, since inspiration was an influence essentially and perpetually belonging to an apostle—not a thing laid aside at times, and again assumed or given. *Oral* as well as *written* discourses were inspired. If therefore many of the former have perished unrecorded in writing, why should it be counted improbable that some of the latter should also have passed into oblivion? Let us be grateful for what we have, and not attempt to limit the operations of the apostles, or of their Divine Master, by assuming that the former wrote no more than what we possess. The books given are sufficient for salvation; and who shall be so niggardly in his apprehensions as to assert that the world never saw more?

The apostle's style and diction. — The style and diction usually constitute an index of the mental and moral features, particularly in such individuals as are of transparent character. In the present case there is great variety, as might be expected from the many-sided man who stands before us. The epistles addressed to individuals and communities under different circumstances, are wonderfully adapted in tone and con-

tents to the parties in question; while, at the same time, they represent different states of mind and feeling in the writer. In like manner, the speeches delivered by Paul before various audiences evince a philosophic spirit, or an unpolished aspect, in conformity with the minds he had to deal with. Hence the philosophical Athenians, and the rude Lycaonians, were addressed in a very different style. Every reader has felt the difficulty of obtaining a comprehensive and discriminating view of Paul's general diction. One letter exhibits phrases and forms of expression which serve to characterise itself; but analogous expressions do not run through *all his epistles* so commonly and clearly as to evince at once their common source.

Similarities of diction are more within the circle of one than the wider sphere of all. Hence it is much easier to characterise the apostle as a writer from one or several epistles, than from *the entire collection*. Yet there are a few forms of expression running through his writings generally, which may be said to constitute his permanent style, so far as any can be attributed to him. "Every man whatever," says Dr. Johnson, "has a peculiar style, which may be discovered by nice examination and comparison." In the present case, it is a remarkable image of the man. The qualities of his mind are strongly depicted in his diction.

First. His style is the expression of a didactic, logical, reflecting mind. It images forth a mental conformation which is didactic and syllogistical—a mode of thinking *analytical* in its cast. Hence it is *periodic* and *antithetic* in structure.

In exemplification of this general statement, the following particulars may be noticed. He often employs *abstract terms*, in conformity with the reflective habit of mind he possessed: as in the epistle to Romans, vii. 6; viii. 19, 20, 21; xi. 7, 12, 15, 25; xii. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 4. 2 Cor. iii. 8; v. 21. Ephes. iv. 17, etc.

Again; he *proves* his statements. Seldom does he advance any general position, or make an assertion, without subjoining some such particle as γάρ or ὅτι. By this means he gives a reason for the statement, or explains and confirms it. Compare Romans i. 16; iii. 9; xii. 19; xiv. 11. 1 Cor. i. 19. Galat. iv. 22, 27. 2 Cor. vi. 2, etc. Ὅτι occurs thus in Romans v. 8; vi. 15; viii. 29. 1 Cor. i. 25; ii. 14; iii. 13. 2 Cor. iii. 14. Galat. iv. 6.

Ephes. ii. 18. Philipp. i. 29, etc. Or he uses a *participle* instead of γάρ; as εἰδότες, in 1 Cor. xv. 58. 2 Cor. i. 7. Ephes. vi. 8, 9. Coloss. iv. 1. Romans vi. 6.

He presents the tendency and ultimate object of principles. Things are viewed in the light of a true philosophy. They are traced to the eternal decree of God, and shewn to be subservient to the divine glory. He looks at the development of the world's history as connected with the purposes of the divine mind, and resulting throughout eternity in the exhibition of a manifold and infinite wisdom. Hence his doctrinal system embraces the origin, tendency, and results of the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, as well as of the various particulars with which it is connected. Thus his mode of viewing subjects prepares us to expect the frequent use of conjunctions that mark the end, purpose, or cause for which something is done, as ἵνα and ὅπως; or of such phrases as εἰς τό, πρὸς τό, etc. Romans i. 11, 13; vi. 1, 4; vii. 13; viii. 4. 1 Cor. i. 27. Coloss. i. 9. 1 Cor. x. 6. 2 Cor. i. 4; iv. 4. Ephes. i. 18. 2 Cor. iii. 13. 1 Thessal. ii. 9. Ephes. i. 11, 12, etc.

He reasons and draws inferences from *Old Testament passages*, or from *the history of Old Testament personages*, as in Romans ix. 15; xiv. 11. 1 Cor. xiv. 21, 22. Gal. iii. 16; iv. 22 - 24. 1 Cor. ix. 9. Ephes. iv. 8. Romans iv. 3, 10, 18; ix. 11 - 13; xi. 4. 1 Cor. x. 4, 5. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8. Gal. iii. 6: from *principles based on experience;* Romans v. 7; viii. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 12, 18; vii. 9. 2 Cor. vii. 12; ix. 6; x. 18. Ephes. v. 29: from *analogies and comparisons;* Romans ix. 21; xii. 4, 5. 1 Cor. iii. 6 - 15, 16, 17; ix. 7, 13, 24, 25; xii. 12, 14 - 30; xiv. 7 - 9; xv. 39 - 42, 49. 2 Cor. vi. 14 - 16. Gal. iii. 15; iv. 1 - 3: from *the less to the greater* (a minori ad majus); Romans v. 9, 10, 17; xi. 12, 24. 1 Cor. vi. 2; ix. 12. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 9, 11, and *vice versâ* (a majori ad minus), 1 Cor. vi. 3: from *a universal to a particular;* 1 Cor. xv. 13, 16, 17, 26, 27: from *the whole to a part;* Romans xi. 1. He eagerly detects and exposes inconsistencies and contradictions; Romans ii. 21; iii. 6; vi. 2, 15, 17. 1 Cor. vi. 2; x. 22, 30; xv. 12, 29. Gal. ii. 14.

In consequence of the dialectic cast of the apostle's mind, we frequently meet with *antithesis*, a figure used for the purpose of

strengthening the impression of his reasoning. It is true that it is the production of the imagination, but not of the imagination in a highly excited state. In antithesis the imagination is under the control of calm reason. Hence Blair calls antithesis a figure of a cool nature, asserting that it is not the offspring of *passion*, like some others. Examples may be seen in Romans ii. 21 - 24. 2 Cor. iv. 8 - 12; vi. 9 - 11; xi. 22, 30.

Secondly. The vigour and fire of his mind are expressed in *the vigour and fervency* of his style. This feature was observed at an early period in the history of Christian literature. Thus Irenaeus mentioned the "rapidity of his speech and the vehemence of his spirit."[h] Accordingly Tholuck appropriately applies to Paul what was said of Luther—his speech is *a continual battle.* It is impetuous, glowing, penetrating. It astonishes, convinces, overpowers. *Striking* words are accumulated by the intense ardour of his feelings. Well therefore might some of the Corinthians remark, "his letters are weighty and powerful." His mode of writing is like a flood, where one wave follows another in close succession and overtops it. "The frequently recurring οὐ μόνον δέ and μᾶλλον δέ is the swelling of the wave."[i] This is exemplified in the commencement of the Ephesian epistle, where thought presses on thought without a resting point to the language till the fourteenth verse. To this we owe those fine instances of *climax* which equal such as can be found in any writer. Romans v. 4, 5; viii. 29, 30; x. 14, 15. Titus iii. 3, 4. Hence also his frequent use of words compounded with ὑπὲρ, and such like: ὑπερβάλλω, ὑπερπλεονάζω, ὑπερλίαν, ὑπερνικάω, ὑπερπερισσεύω, ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ; πλεονάζω, πληρόω, πληροφορέω, πλῆθος; of the adjective πᾶς, and the substantive πλοῦτος. Both the single terms and the compounds he employs largely exemplify the vigour of his style. In some parts of his speeches, as recorded in the Acts, we have the finest specimens of consummate oratory. Force, fire, persuasiveness, mingled even with the tenderer qualities, present themselves to the reader.

But these features of character and style, connected as they are with an excited state of inward feeling, cause the style to be

[h] Adv. Haeres. iii. 7

[i] Tholuck, Vermischte Schriften, ii. p. 327.

less simple. They introduce irregularity into its structure, and it becomes in consequence less *periodic*. Departures from periodic structure, simplicity, and regularity, present themselves in different forms, such as digression, parenthesis, the varied construction (*oratio variata*), unfinished comparisons, anacolutha, etc. His turning aside from the main idea and parenthetic insertions give rise to incomplete and suspended sentences. The construction is suddenly changed, and another is begun. Comparisons are not completed. The premises are separated from the conclusion. Such circumstances introduce intricacy and obscurity.

In regard to *digressions*, they are more frequent in Paul's writings than those of any other sacred author. Here Paley has directed attention to a peculiar kind of digression not unfrequent in our apostle. "This singularity," says he, "is a species of digression which may properly, I think, be denominated *going off at a word*. It is turning aside from the subject, upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetic sentence, in which that word is the prevailing term."[k] He then furnishes examples of it from 2 Cor. ii. 14, at the word *savour*. "Now thanks be unto God which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest *the savour* of his knowledge, by us, in every place; (for we are unto God a sweet *savour* of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one, we are the *savour* of death unto death, and to the other, the *savour* of life unto life; and who is sufficient for these things?) For we are not as many who corrupt the word of God; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ." So too from 2 Cor. iii. 1; iii. 12, etc. Ephes. iv. 8 - 11; v. 12 - 15. Digressions are also found in 2 Cor. iii. 14 - 17. Romans i. 1. Ephes. iii. 1. Examples of *parenthesis* are numerous, as in Romans iv. 11; vii. 1. 1 Cor vii. 11. 2 Cor. viii. 3; xi. 21, etc.; xii. 2. Coloss. iv. 10. 1 Tim. ii. 7. *Varied construction*, when the corresponding member of a sentence exhibits a different construction from a preceding member; Romans xii. 1, 2, 6. 1 Cor. xiv. 1. Ephes. v. 27, 33. 1 Cor. vii. 13. Phil. ii. 22, etc.

[k] Horae Paulinae, in Works, vol. ii. p. 243.

Instances of *anacolutha* are frequent. In such cases, one part of a sentence does not harmonise grammatically with another. Some circumstance is inserted, after which the sentence takes a different construction from that which it began with; Gal. ii. 6; ii. 4, 5. Romans ii. 17, etc.; v. 12, etc.; ix. 23, 24. A peculiar kind of anacoluthon occurs, when the construction is continued by means of a participle, which often appears in an anomalous case; Ephes. iv. 2, etc.; iii. 17, etc. Coloss. iii. 16. 2 Cor. ix. 10. The construction passes over from a participle into a finite verb; Col. i. 26; i. 21. Ephes. i. 20. Or, the nominative or accusative at the beginning of a sentence has a verb after it which is not congruous with it; 2 Cor. xii. 17. Romans viii. 3.

Suspended sentences are very common, as in Romans iv. 11, and when there is parenthesis.

Perhaps the *Paronomasia*, which is a favourite figure of the apostle, may be referred to the same quality of mind more than any other, though not exclusively; for by its means some resemblance or distinction is made emphatic. A particular thing is clothed with power, that it may be firmly imprinted on the mind; and therefore a vigorous understanding, associated with strong feelings, will adopt this method of fixing an idea in the heart of the hearer or reader; Romans i. 29, 31. 1 Cor. ii. 13. 2 Cor. viii. 22; ix. 8; x. 12. Gal. v. 7. When, in addition to similarity of *sound*, there is a reference to the *sense*, the figure becomes significant and emphatic, because contrast or resemblance is strongly marked; Romans v. 19. Phil. iii. 3, 12. 2 Cor. iv. 8; v. 4. 2 Thess. iii. 11. Philemon 11, 20. The play on words is more concealed and delicate in the last two passages.

The apostle's style is also distinguished by interrogations and exclamations, which denote an agitated mind. Evincing activity and passion, they give animation to discourse, and excite sympathy. Hence he puts forth questions, and answers them himself, in such interrogatory formulae as ἢ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι (ἀγνοεῖτε), Romans ii. 4; vi. 3; vii. 1; xi. 2; οὐκ οἴδατε, Romans vi. 16. 1 Cor. iii. 16; v. 6; vi. 2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19; ix. 13, 24. 2 Thessal. ii. 5; τί ἐροῦμεν, τί οὖν, τί ἐστι, τί οὖν φημι, Romans iii. 5; iv. 1; vi. 1; vii. 7; viii. 31; ix. 14, 30; iii. 9; vi. 15; xi. 7. 1 Cor. xiv. 26; ix. 19.

Thirdly. The apostle's style is distinguished by fulness and copiousness. He had abundance of good Greek words at his command, shewing that his knowledge of Greek was not at all defective.

Bloomfield says, that the ideas poured in upon him faster than the expressions wherewith to clothe them. "Hence that frequent employment of the *asyndeton*, and the very sparing use of particles, than which nothing tends more to obscurity; as, on the other hand, the liberal use of them throws much light upon the meaning of a writer, and the purpose at which he aims."[1] This language presents a partial, and somewhat incorrect, view of the apostle as an author. The asyndeton is employed for rhetorical effect. The emphasis is increased by it. A writer who resorts to climaxes, enumerations, antitheses; who recounts parts, cannot but have the asyndeton, if he would avoid enfeebling the expression. Force and point would be sacrificed. But that Paul is characterised by the asyndeton, or by a very sparing use of particles, is not borne out by fact. Even if he were so, we should hesitate in ascribing the peculiarity to the scantiness of his expressions; for there are no traces of a lack of words when they were required. It is true that his style is sometimes terse and condensed. He has often compressed much into few words. There are specimens of breviloquence, and of *the constructio praegnans.* But this arose from the strength and spiritual pregnancy of his mind giving utterance to its profound conceptions in few expressions, because they were more likely to strike the reader than an accumulation of enfeebling terms. In such cases there may be occasional obscurity; but that does not arise so much from the want of connecting particles, as from the paucity of leading terms. Hence the employment of few words must be attributed generally to the depth of the apostle's spirituality, and the strength of his intellect, not to the want of mastery over language, or to the scanty stock at his disposal.

The great variety of particles which the writer uses may be seen from a few passages, such as Gal. ii. 12. 1 Thess. i. 8 to the

[1] Greek Testament, vol. ii., note at the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, sixth edition.

end; Romans iii. 25, 26. 2 Cor. i. 8-14. Romans xi. 21. 2 Cor. x. 14. Besides, they are varied at pleasure, so as to express distinctions and shades of signification, as in Gal. i. 1. Romans iii. 22; xi. 36. Col. i. 16. Ephes. iv. 6. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Romans i. 17. 1 Cor. xii. 8. 2 Cor. iii. 11. 1 Cor. x. 22. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

The rich fulness of the writer's mind expressing itself in his style may also be seen in his copious use of synonymes, and rich participial constructions. Examples of the former may be found in Romans xii. 2; xiv. 17. 1 Cor. xv. 24. 2 Cor. xii. 12. Col. i. 22. 1 Thessal. ii. 10. 1 Tim. i. 5. With regard to participles, it is well known that Luke and Paul are more addicted to their use than any other of the sacred writers. Comp. 2 Thessal. ii. 14, etc. 2 Tim. i. 9, etc. Titus ii. 13. 2 Cor. iv. 8-10. Col. i. 3. The reader will find a fine specimen of the rich fulness belonging to the apostle's style in Ephes. i. 3-14.

Fourthly. Tenderness, delicacy, disinclination to severity, are conspicuous features in his mental character. He is reluctant to blame those he addresses, or to dwell on their ingratitude. This affectionate delicacy of feeling exhibits itself in a refined mode of expression which softens things that have the appearance of harshness, or merely hints at others without expressly stating them. In this respect the style has more of art than we should expect. But it is perfectly natural in Paul's case. The peculiarity in question is the genuine expression of humility, modesty, and tenderness. It is the spontaneous flowing forth of the sympathising feelings, which constituted the most attractive element in his moral constitution. Hence we find

(*a*) A softening of rebuke, (*b*) of self-commendation, (*c*) of the dogmatic tone.

(*a*) Many examples of this occur in his speeches recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. See also 2 Cor. vii. 12-16; ix. 4; xii. 20, 21; xiii. 10. Gal. v. 10.

(*b*) Comp. Romans i. 11, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10; xv. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Philipp. iii. 5, 6, 7.

(*c*) Comp. Romans xii. 3. Philipp. iii. 4. Romans vi. 1, 2. 1 Cor. x. 15; xi. 13. 1 Thess. v. 5.

Allied to this is the delicacy with which transitions from one particular to another are frequently made. See Romans i. 17, 32.

1 Cor. iv. 19; v. 12, 13. 2 Cor. xii. 1-6; xiii. 5, 6, 9. Gal. iii. 3, 4.

Thus there is a refined perception of propriety, an avoidance of the distasteful in the view of his readers, along with as much fidelity as the most direct language could convey. It is therefore impossible to resist the idea, that his feelings were always under control; else such phenomena could not have happened. He is never borne away by mere enthusiasm. Infallibly guided as he was, there are minute distinctions which shew that discretion never forsook him even in moments of the highest emotion. The reasoning faculty was quick and powerful, so that his enlarged feelings could find expression as well in the finer and less perceptible streams of propriety, as in the full channel of Christian love.

On the whole, there is a general want of polish and elegance in the style of our apostle. It presents few marks of elaboration. Rather is it the product of a sanctified, inspired genius, possessed with the idea of its resources, and disdaining external appliances. It is the unstudied offspring of a mind unusually elevated—the pouring forth of a mental affluence unparalleled in the history of humanity. His bullion was abundant, and its quality was the purest; but the mintage was unskilful. He dispenses with elegance in the utterance of the noblest thoughts. He wanted mastery in the artifices of composition. His life and education did not qualify him for attending to the minute graces of speech. But although his style be often rugged and irregular, it is not degrading to the sublime ideas with which it is associated. On the contrary, it is a fitting vehicle for them. The grandeur of his intellect stands forth uninjured in the forcible diction it employs. The fire of his mind could not diffuse itself into well-rounded periods or regularly balanced sentences, without deterioration. It waited not for the slow movements of rhetorical skill. The opulence of his genius did not demean itself to polish diction, since it could rapidly pour forth its exhaustless treasure in *significant* and *suitable* language. Admirably does the entire character of the man correspond with the kind of expressions he uses. It were vain to expect from him any other diction than the strong but inelegant. The vast ideas which tenanted and

transported his soul, could not allow him to tarry and arrange his words. His spirit was too quick in its movements for rhetorical task-work. The theme itself, rather than its outward drapery, engrossed his mind. Most appropriately, therefore, does Hemstherhusius say: — "In flosculis verborum, et orationis calamistratae pigmentis . . . . . sed indolis excelsae notis, in pondere rerum: quum enim magna esset in eo animi vis, et divina quaedam meditate cogitandi facultas, mentis imaginem scribendo expressit. Nihil ejus cogitatio, et argumentorum nervis sublimius esse et incitatius fatendum est. Hinc in ejus epistolis nullae non extant oratorum figurae, non illae quidem e rhetorum loculis ac myrothecio depromptae, aut ad orationem expoliendam arte compositae, verum affectus animi coelesti ardore inflammatus haec scriptionis lumina sponte sub manum venientia progignebat; itaque se Paulus confirmabat ut ad omnes dicendi vias, rationesque omnes mirifica quadam ingenii temperatione foret paratissimus."

"His eloquence does not consist in flowerets of words, or the flourishes of artificial speech . . . . . but in the marks of a lofty mind, in the weight of the things discussed. For whereas he had great vigour of soul, and a certain divine faculty of thinking deeply, his writing is the express image of his mind. It must be admitted, that nothing is more sublime and rapid than his thoughts and the sinews of his arguments. Hence all figures of the orators appear in his epistles — not indeed such as are drawn from the pouncet-box of rhetoricians, or put together by art for the purpose of polishing the discourse: no: but the vehemence of a mind inflamed with heavenly ardour gave rise to these lights of writing, occurring, as they did, spontaneously; and thus Paul strengthened himself by a marvellous natural genius, so that he was quite prepared for all ways and modes of expression."[m]

In relation to the comparative purity of his Greek style, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion. The Hebrew basis of it is everywhere apparent, as might have been expected *a priori;* but the Greek peculiarities are usually more prominent

[m] Oratio de Paulo Apostolo.

than the Hebrew. He had greater command of the Greek idiom than the other writers. Hence his style often approaches Grecian purity. It is frequently formed after the Greek mode. But though the Greek colouring and construction are observable, they are not definitely or uniformly exemplified. His familiarity with genuine Greek expressions, and his perfect ability to employ them, are inferred from the general tone of his diction. He might have written in a pure Greek style, had he studied his words and sentences. But he has not done so. Hebraisms are freely intermingled with his diction. He was negligent of style. Intent on the matter more than the manner, he betrays carelessness. There is no doubt however that he understood the Greek language well; the numerous defects in construction arising from *haste* rather than *ignorance*. The specimens of ability and skill relative to the employment of good Greek phraseology and construction, are sufficient to prove that he could have always written in the same strain, had he not subordinated the rounding of periods to a higher object. He writes like one who knows the Greek language but is negligent in attending to it. His soul is occupied with a more important theme than the nature of language. Thus the diction of Paul is neither characterised by *Hebraisms* on the one hand, nor by *Greek purity* on the other. The latter is more apparent; but still it is not so prominent as to form a distinguishing trait of the writer's manner. We see his mastery over the Greek language, but at the same time his negligence in making it uniformly good, correct, and regular. On the whole, the Greek peculiarities present themselves more decidedly than the Hebrew.

With regard to the general conformation of his epistles — their entire mould and bearing — there is a considerable degree of uniformity among them. Thus the apostle commonly begins with a salutation to the readers, and concludes with a doxology occasionally preceded by salutations. The opening greeting is usually followed by an expression of thanks or praise to God. With remarkable skill he next surrounds the mention of Deity, or of himself, with such predicates as correspond to the subject of the letter. Thus at the commencement of the Galatian epistle, he subjoins to his name, ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι'

ἀνθρώπου; "an apostle not of men neither by man." In like manner, at the beginning of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς . . . . . τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν; "patience, etc., in our Lord."

The following words, formulae, and constructions have been collected from the Pauline epistles. They are either confined to the writer himself, or occur in his writings so frequently in comparison with their appearance in the other sacred authors, or are employed with some peculiarity of meaning, that they may be considered as characterising his composition. They include his peculiar terminology, and embody almost all the ideas that constitute his doctrinal system, or theology. Ἁγιωσύνη, ἀγαθωσύνη, δικαίωσις, δικαίωμα, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦσθαι, καταλλάσσειν, καταλλαγή, μεσίτης, υἱοθεσία, ἄνθρωπος παλαιός, ἄνθρωπος καινός, κτίσις καινή, χάρισμα, πίστις and νόμος contrasted, σάρξ and πνεῦμα, ἐνδύεσθαι and ἐκδύεσθαι in a figurative sense, κεφαλή applied to Christ; κλῆσις, οἰκοδομή, μυστήριον. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, Romans i. 13; xi. 25. 1 Cor. x. 1. 2 Cor. i. 8. 1 Thess. iv. 13. θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, 1 Cor. xi. 3. Coloss. ii. 1. γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, Phil. i. 12. οὐ μόνον δέ, Romans v. 3, 11; viii. 23; ix. 10. 2 Cor. viii. 19. γνωρίζω ὑμῖν, 1 Cor. xv. 1. 2 Cor. viii. 1. Gal. iv. 11. τοῦτο δέ φημι or λέγω, 1 Cor. i. 12; vii. 6, 29; xv. 50. Gal. iii. 17. Ephes. iv. 17. Col. ii. 4. 1 Thess. iv. 15. οἶδα γάρ, Romans vii. 14, 18. 2 Cor. ix. 2. Phil. i. 19. 2 Tim. i. 12. τί ἐροῦμεν, Romans iii. 5; iv. 1; vi. 1; vii. 7; viii. 31; ix. 14, 30. ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, Romans vi. 3; vii. 1. μὴ γένοιτο, Romans iii. 4, 6; vi. 2, 15; vii. 7, 13; ix. 14; xi. 1, 11. 1 Cor. vi. 15. Gal. ii. 17; iii. 21. τί οὖν, Romans iii. 1, 9; vi. 15; xi. 7. τί γάρ, Romans iii. 3. Philipp. i. 18. οὐκ οἴδατε or ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε, 1 Cor. iii. 16; v. 6; vi. 2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19; ix. 13, 24.

In quotations, γέγραπται, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, Romans i. 17; ii. 24; iii. 4, 10; iv. 3, 17, 23; viii. 36; ix. 13, 17, 33; x. 11, 15; xi. 2, 8, 19, 26; xiv. 11; xv. 3, 9, 21, 24. 1 Cor. i. 19, 31; ii. 9; ix. 9; x. 7; xiv. 21; xv. 45. 2 Cor. iv. 13; viii. 15; ix. 9. Gal. iii. 8, 10, 13; iv. 22, 27, 30. Also Μωϋσῆς γράφει. Δαβὶδ λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει, etc. Romans iv. 6; vii. 7;

ix. 25, 27, 29; x. 5, 19, 20; xi. 9; xv. 12. 1 Cor. ix. 9; xiv. 21, 34.

Abstract nouns with the genitive: Romans i. 5, *ὑπακοὴ πίστεως*; ii. 7, *ὑπομονὴ ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ*; iv. 11, *δικαιοσύνη πίστεως*, etc.; 17; iii. 6, 8; v. 5, 18, 19; viii. 2, 4, 24; ix. 10, 12, 13. Gal. v. 5. The writer sometimes indulges in verbosity, for the sake of parallelism; Romans i. 25; iii. 30; iv. 14, 20. 2 Thessal. i. 11. 1 Cor. viii. 6. 2 Cor. xii. 10. The following formulae appear particularly in the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians:— Col. i. 11, *κατὰ τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*; 12, *εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου . . . .*; 18, *ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας*; 20, *τὸ αἷμα τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ*; 22, *ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*; 23, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*; 27, *ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου*; ii. 2, *εἰς πάντα πλοῦτον τῆς πληροφορίας τῆς συνέσεως*; 9, *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*; 11, *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός*; 12, *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ*; 13, *ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν*; iii. 12, *στλάγχνα οἰκτιρμῶν*.

Luke has many characteristic terms in common with Paul, such as *εὐδοκῶ*, *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, *δέομαι*, *καταξιοῦμαι*, *οἰκοδομῶ*, *στηρίζω*, *ὑποστρέφω*, *ἀτενίζω*, *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός*, *ἐφίστημι*, *παρά* and *ὑπέρ* to express the comparative degree, etc.[n]

[n] See Wilke's Die Neutestamentliche Rhetorik, u. s. w. p. 469, et seq.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

WE shall endeavour to elucidate those topics connected with the Epistle to the Romans which must be studied by the thoughtful reader.

I. ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT ROME.
II. PERSONS OF WHOM THE CHURCH WAS COMPOSED.
III. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.
IV. THE APOSTLE'S OBJECT.
V. THE LANGUAGE.
VI. INTEGRITY.
VII. AUTHENTICITY.
VIII. CONTENTS.

I. *Origin of the church at Rome.*

This subject is surrounded with uncertainty. It is impossible to obtain a fixed or satisfactory conclusion from the scanty materials at our disposal. All that can be advanced upon it amounts to little more than probable conjecture.

The precise manner and time in which the seed of the gospel was brought to Rome have been variously represented That it had taken root there during the life of Christ on earth, is a sentiment which cannot be entertained, though sanctioned by Bertholdt[o] and Klee, after the Clementine Homilies. In the time of the apostles the Jewish population of the city was considerable, as we learn from Philo, Josephus, Dio Cassius, and others. When Pompey the Great conquered Judea, he sent large numbers of the inhabitants as prisoners to Rome to be sold for slaves. Many of them were subsequently liberated by their masters, to whom it was judged expedient to assign a dwelling-place beyond the Tiber, where Augustus allowed them the free exercise of their religion and the rights of citizens.[p] Josephus

[o] Einleit. vol. vi. p. 3271.

[p] Philo, Legat. ad Cajum, p. 758 (ed Colon.).

states, that in the time of Augustus more than eight thousand Jews belonging to Rome attached themselves to an embassy of fifty deputies from Judea, to second their petition;[q] and according to Tacitus, four thousand Egyptians and Jews were transported to Sardinia in the reign of Tiberius, while the remaining sectaries were ordered to depart out of Italy at a certain day, unless they had previously renounced their peculiar worship.[r]

On the day of Pentecost, Jews from Rome were present at Jerusalem, some of whom may have returned with the seed of the Divine word (Acts ii. 10). This assumption is not improbable when viewed in connexion with the salutations at the close of the epistle, where persons converted before Paul himself are mentioned as residing at Rome.[s] Nor is it unlikely that Jewish Christians scattered abroad by the persecution arising after Stephen's death, may have found their way to Rome, although Luke does not mention that city.

The Roman Catholic Church asserts, that *Peter* was the founder and first bishop of the Christian community at Rome. The earliest document in which this opinion appears is the *Clementine Homilies* or *Clementines*, composed about the close of the second century, at Rome. This work represents Peter as the founder of the church at Rome, and first bishop of the imperial city.

In like manner Eusebius, in his chronicle, places Peter's arrival at Rome in the second year of Claudius: *Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος πρώτην ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς Ῥώμην ἄπεισι κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος προέστη ἕως τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ.*[t]

"Peter the coryphaeus, having founded the first church in Antioch, set out for Rome preaching the gospel; and besides the church in Antioch, he was the first president of that at Rome also, until his death."

Clement of Alexandria says, that the apostle came to Rome in the reign of Claudius to confront Simon Magus.[u] According to Dionysius of Corinth, in his epistle to the Corinthians as

[q] Antiq. xvii. 11, 1. [r] Annal. ii. 85. [s] Romans, xvi. 7.
[t] Ed. Maius et Zohrab. p. 372. [u] Ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 14.

recorded by Eusebius,[v] Peter and Paul having founded the church at Corinth went thence into Italy, where they founded the Roman church, and suffered martyrdom at the same time. Irenaeus, as given by Eusebius, testifies, that both Peter and Paul preached at Rome and founded the church there at the time when Matthew wrote his gospel.[w] Jerome is the first who relates that Peter, after having been bishop of Antioch, governed the Roman church for the space of twenty-five years.[x] In Isidore of Spain the different traditions are put together in the following manner: "Hic postquam Antiochenam ecclesiam fundavit, sub Claudio Caesare contra Simonem Magum Romam pergit, ibique praedicans evangelium xxv. annis ejusdem tenuit pontificatum."[y]

"After he (Peter) had founded the church at Antioch, he went to Rome in the reign of Claudius Caesar to meet Simon Magus, and preached the gospel for twenty-five years, holding the pontificate."

These statements of the early fathers constitute the foundation of a current tenet among Romanists. And yet they have neither the impress of credibility nor truth. They are refuted by the New Testament itself, as the following considerations will shew.

1. Peter was still at Jerusalem when the decrees were issued, about the twelfth year of Claudius's reign (Acts xv).

2. In speaking of Paul's coming to Rome, Luke never alludes to Peter, nor intimates that the church had one head or founder whose spiritual supremacy was generally acknowledged. And yet it is said that *the brethren* met him, and that he spent with them two whole years. Is not this inconsistent with the supposition either that Peter was there at the time, or that he had been before?

3. In the epistles written by Paul from Rome during his imprisonment, there is no allusion to Peter. Neither is any salutation sent by the latter to the readers of those epistles. On the contrary, in the letter to the Colossians (iv. 11), Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus are declared to be his sole fellow-workers in the kingdom of God. Epaphras, Luke the Physician,[z] and the

[v] H. E. ii. 25
[w] Ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 8.
[x] De Script. Eccles. c. i.
[y] De Vitâ et Obitu Petri.
[z] Coloss. iv. 12, 14.

saints of Caesar's household are also mentioned.[a] In the second epistle to Timothy we find that Luke only was with him.[b] Now it is utterly impossible that Peter could have been overlooked in all these epistles, if he was at Rome when they were written, especially as the salutations of persons far inferior are recorded; and it is very improbable that he had been there at any time before, since there is no hint of previous residence.

4. Had the Roman christians enjoyed the teaching or episcopal superintendence of Peter, Paul, who declares in this very epistle that he had striven to preach the gospel where it had not been heard before, lest he should build on another's foundation, would not have been so anxious to come to them in person, to impart to them some spiritual gift, as well as to instruct them in the faith.

5. In the epistle to the Romans there are many salutations, but none to Peter. He was not therefore at Rome when it was written.

6. When Paul was in Jerusalem after his conversion, and certainly after the second year of Claudius, it was agreed that Peter and the others should labour in Palestine, or among the Jewish christians, while he should preach to the Gentiles. This compact seems to have been kept till the death of Paul. The only exception to it which we find, is the case of Peter at Antioch, supposing the meeting of Peter and Paul to have taken place there *after* the conference at Jerusalem; but yet at Antioch, Peter preached chiefly to the *Jewish* christians.

These considerations are sufficient to disprove the ancient tradition that Peter was at Rome, the head of the Christian community there, either during the reign of Claudius, or at any time previous to the writing of the present epistle. Whether he was there *at any time* is a distinct question having no necessary connexion with his acknowledged supremacy over the church. His being at Rome towards the close of his life stands apart from the questions of his founding the church and being invested with a certain authority over it. The tradition in question is not received by all members of the Roman Catholic communion. Intelligent

[a] Philipp. iv. 22. [b] iv. 11.

inquirers within the pale of that very church have rejected it as untenable. We refer to Valesius, Pagi, Baluz, Hug, Klee. Feilmoser, the able writer of an essay in the Tübingen Quarterly Journal of Theology for 1820, himself a Romanist, arrives at the conclusion that the apostle Peter could not have been in the imperial city sooner than a year before his death.[c] As far then as the learning and intelligence of that ecclesiastical body have been impartially directed to the question, they go to disprove the current belief of their own church.

It is highly improbable that Christians are referred to in Claudius's edict issued *in favour of* the Jews[d] in the first or second year of his reign, where the latter are allowed to observe their own customs as long as they did not make light of the religious usages belonging to other nations. There is no allusion in this language to certain persons who set the laws at nought, meaning *the Christians*, because the edict was intended not merely for Rome but *the whole empire*, and because the adoption of Christianity was not the sole disloyalty of the time.

It has been disputed whether there were Christians at Rome at the time when Claudius's decree *against* the Jews was issued. This is a point that cannot be determined for want of historical data. The only mode in which the existence of Christians in the imperial city can be deduced from history, is by affixing peculiar interpretations to the words of Suetonius, "*Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit;*" or by discovering in the passage written by Luke (xviii. 2), that Aquila and Priscilla were Christians *before* their banishment. If, as Meyer and others suppose, *Chresto impulsore* refer to disputes between Christians and Jews; or if the allusion be to political disturbances in which the former took part, and in consequence of which the magistrates looked upon them as despising the laws, it is obvious that the gospel had already found its way into Rome. But the words of Suetonius, ambiguous as they are, scarcely justify these assumptions. It is true that the Romans mispronounced the name *Christus*, taking it to be the same as the Greek word χρηστός; but it is doubtful whether Suetonius meant Jesus Christ, the

[c] See also his Einleit. p. 106, et seq. [d] Josephus, Antiq. xix. 5, 2, 3.

historic person. The phrase *assidue tumultuantes* is not very applicable to disturbances raised by Jews against Christians preaching the gospel; nor is *impulsore* Chresto altogether pertinent. Suetonius indeed was a heathen, and probably ignorant of the existence of two religious sects at that time in Rome, if indeed there were such; but with all the heathen colouring of his mind, it is difficult to believe that he could have written *impulsore Chresto* merely to express the cause of certain contentions between Jews and Christians, which led Claudius to banish one or both. Perhaps the language alludes to fanatical proceedings on the part of the Jews, who, daily expecting the Messiah to deliver them from the Roman yoke, were liable to be seduced by impostors into tumultuary insurrections. The ignorant Romans construed the ideal Messiah into a rebel leader of the same name; or rather, each pretender gave himself out to be the Messiah. That *Christians* are meant by Suetonius in his use of Chresto, is scarcely reconcilable with his mention of *Christiani* in another passage.[e] Besides, it is improbable that there were so many Christians at Rome as to excite violent opposition on the part of the Jews. There were no apostles like Paul, whose energetic zeal and liberal views of gospel freedom drew upon *him* far more than any other the attacks of Jewish bigotry.

The words of Luke concerning Aquila when he was expelled from Rome are, "And found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome), and came unto them." (Acts xviii. 2.) This language is decisive neither way. Reiche[f] attempts to shew, that it exhibits him as still a Jew, because Ἰουδαῖος is employed without any additional word indicative of his faith in Christianity. But Jewish christians are so styled in Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3, 12; where indeed there is a special reference to both. Nothing prevents us from supposing that Aquila is called *a Jew* even after he had embraced Christianity, for the purpose of pointing out *the nation* to which he belonged. Luke seems clearly to have had this object in view,

[e] Nero, c. xvi.

[f] Versuch einer ausführlichen Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer, vol. i. Einleit. p. 45.

because Aquila is styled at the same time *Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει*. If Aquila and Priscilla were already Christians, we can easily and naturally explain why Paul so soon attached himself to them; for in this case, not only similarity of professional occupation, but the stronger bond of similarity in faith, drew him to *their* abode, rather than to that of other tent-makers at Corinth. Had he been converted by Paul at Corinth, his conversion would probably have been noticed along with others who embraced Christianity about the same time, particularly when his future relation to Paul and to the Christian church generally is considered. It is *possible* that he may have become a convert *after leaving Rome and before arriving at Corinth*, but it is not probable; and if he first made a profession of Christianity at the latter city, his altered sentiments must have been the result of Paul's teaching.

It is consonant with the fact of Aquila's Christianity before his banishment that Claudius's decree was directed against *the Jews*, because the Romans were unable to distinguish between *Jews* and *Jewish christians*. No line of separation was drawn between Judaism and Christianity by the Roman laws. "Even several years after," says Hug, "when Paul wrote to the Jewish christians at Rome, they themselves were not clear on this point, but were inclined to regard Christianity as a species of Judaism. The principal men even among the Jews in Rome, so late as the eighth year of Nero, had the idea, when Paul invited them to a conference, that it was a Jewish sect, *αἵρεσις* (Acts xxviii. 22), which, however, was everywhere spoken against; so that it would seem the Jews and Roman authorities in Rome were led first by the trial of the apostle to the accusations of his adversaries, and his replies, to understand that Christianity was a separate and peculiar religion."[g] Is it then at all likely that the Roman magistrates singled out the Jewish christians from the Jews when the edict was put in force? On the whole, we agree with those who assume the existence of Jewish Christians at Rome when Claudius's edict was issued, and reckon Aquila, with his wife Priscilla, among the number.

But although it may be fairly assumed that Jewish christians

[g] Einleit. vol. ii. p. 337, translated by Fosdick.

were treated like Jews by the magistrates who carried the emperor's decree into effect, we cannot assent to the representation of Hug, that, "*after the banishment of the Jewish christians followers of Jesus at Rome were all converts from paganism*" case of Gentile christians, if there were such at Rome imperial decree was issued, would be different from that of christians, because the former did not observe Jewish cus Thus a marked line was drawn between them and Christ of Jewish descent. They would not be affected by a decree against the Jews. But it is not likely that all Jews were actually banished. Justice could not be so strictly administered for want of a well-regulated police, even if the decree were meant to embrace *every individual* rather than *the majority* who had become turbulent. Similar edicts were frequently passed against the mathematicians and astrologers; but such classes were found to be numerous at Rome soon after. So with regard to the Jews themselves, prior to the present edict, as may be inferred from Tacitus[h] and Dio Cassius.[i] Hence it not probable that *all* the Jewish christians were expelled along with *every* Jew in Rome, leaving the church there to consist converts from heathenism alone. Some Jews in addition to Jewish and Gentile christians remained. As to the mass of the Jewish christians returning, or the majority of exiled Jews going back to Rome in a converted state, where they formed the principal part of the newly organised church, there is much improbability in the assumption. The circumstances adduced in favour of this notion by Hug and others, are far from establishing truth. Thus, after the death of Claudius, our attention is to the mildness and humanity of the first five years of Nero's reign, when the Jews acquired confidence to return. Nero, however, was not the person to repeal severe laws made by his predecessor; nor was he ever so humane as to permit a despised, persecuted class to regain their former position in society. It is also well known that punitory laws enacted by one emperor generally continued in force during the reign of his successor, unless peculiar circumstances connected with the latter, or with the events of his reign,

[h] ii. 85. [i] xxxvi. 6.

drew special attention to these edicts. It is also true that the number of Jews at Rome was considerable in subsequent reigns; but that circumstance has no *necessary* connexion with the restoration of those who had been banished on a charge of turbulence. The present epistle also shews, that Paul was acquainted with many then in the imperial city; but we are not obliged to believe on that account that they had once been *exiles* in different lands, where they were converted by himself or his disciples.

These remarks have been made for the purpose of proving that we are only on safe ground, by supposing *some* of the banished to have returned—some of the Jews, still Jews—others, converted to Christianity—along with some of the Jewish christians, on whom the decree had equally though more unjustly pressed.

The extraordinary influx of foreigners from all parts of the then known world furnishes some ground for believing that the gospel took early root in the soil of the imperial city. The constant intercourse maintained between it and the provinces might induce an acquaintance on the part of many with that new religion whose converts became so numerous. Perhaps the persons mentioned in the sixteenth chapter, seventh, ninth, and twelfth verses, had a share in promoting Christianity at Rome. Whatever supposition be made, a considerable part of the honour is due to Aquila and Priscilla, who, returning to the city, had a church in their house. They had at least the merit of promoting the truth, and of instructing many.

It will be apparent from the preceding observations, that the church at Rome was not founded by an apostle. The honour of planting the gospel in the imperial city cannot be assigned to any of the twelve. The probability is, that it was introduced into the place by Jewish christians after the remarkable day of Pentecost; and subsequently nurtured, in a variety of ways, by individuals brought into the metropolis by different motives, and from many lands.

When the apostle wrote to the Roman believers, we may fairly conclude that the church was numerous, because their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world. The number of persons saluted in the sixteenth chapter, and the entire tone of the epistle, presuppose a large assemblage. Nor does the narrative of Luke

in the Acts of the Apostles contain any intimation of a contrary nature. It is not necessary to assign a reason for the apostle omitting to mention *the elders* and *deacons* of the church, in connexion with the duties they were required to perform, as is done in the epistles to the Philippians and Galatians. Perhaps these officers were not yet in the church; or perhaps the writer's unacquaintedness with them may account for his silence. In any case it is preposterous to look for exact uniformity in the Pauline epistles; an innumerable variety of circumstances being opposed to it. It has also been inferred from the sixteenth chapter, that the church was numerous, because there were many teachers belonging to it. But, unless the term *teacher* be understood in an indefinite and untechnical sense, there is some uncertainty as to the fact of the persons mentioned being *instructors*. Most of them had probably been *Paul's disciples;* but it need not be assumed that they were his immediate converts. In various places they came in contact with himself, or with such as he had been instrumental in bringing to the faith of the gospel. With Aquila and Priscilla the apostle stood in intimate connexion; and there is little doubt that they greatly promoted the interests of the church after their return to Rome. *They* may be called *instructors*. Some of the others too may have laboured by instruction to advance the welfare of the church. All were active in the cause, whether by teaching or example, whether male or female. And they appear to have stood in some kind of connexion with Paul; for he shews a good acquaintance with the circumstances and state of the church, addressing it in a tone of familiarity, as if he had been informed of its affairs by those he salutes.

II. *Persons of whom the church was composed.*

These were Jews and Gentiles, as is manifest from the whole epistle. In it an argument is conducted with both. The Jews are directly referred to in chapter iv. 1, 12, where the expression *our* father Abraham is employed; while the Gentiles are directly addressed in xi. 13. The original germ of the church was Jewish christian, Gentiles having been afterwards added to it. In support of this we need only call to mind that it was customary for the primitive teachers of Christianity to address themselves in the

first instance to the Jews; that heathenism had ceased to satisfy the more reflecting pagans who longed for a purer worship; and that many for that reason had turned to the Jewish religion, so that, according to Seneca, in a fragment preserved by Augustine,[j] so many Romans had embraced the Jewish religion, "ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit, victi victoribus leges dederunt." Juvenal too, in his fourteenth satire, ridicules the Jewish-loving Romans in the following language descriptive of Jewish practices:—

> Quidam sortiti metuentem Sabbata patrem,
> Nil praeter nubes, et coeli numen adorant:
> Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
> Qua pater abstinuit, mox et praeputia ponunt.
> Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
> Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt jus,
> Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.
> Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti;
> Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.[k]

> Some chance to have a father who fears the Sabbaths;
> They adore nothing beside the clouds, and the Deity of heaven:
> Nor do they think swine's flesh to be different from human,
> From which the father abstained; and soon they lay aside their foreskins:
> But used to despise the Roman laws,
> They learn, and keep, and fear the Jewish law,
> Whatsoever Moses hath delivered in the secret volume:
> Not to shew the ways, unless to one observing the same rites,
> To lead the circumcised only to a sought-for fountain.[l]

In like manner Tacitus complains: "Repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio, rursus erumpebat non modo per Judaeam —— sed per urbem etiam."[m]

Those who embraced Judaism from a desire of something spiritual, would scarcely rest in that religion when they had an opportunity of knowing a better worship. Thus *proselytes of the gate*, in addition to those who were Hebrews by descent, formed a constituent part of the Roman church, especially in its earlier

[j] De Civ. Dei, lib. vii. c. 11.
[k] 96, etc.
[l] Madan's Translation.
[m] Annal. xv. 44.

condition. And that considerable numbers passed at once from heathenism to Christianity may be proved even from Tacitus's words just quoted: "*The dangerous superstition* (by which he means the Christian religion) having been checked for a time, revived and spread, not only in Judea, but in the city of Rome itself." While so many converts were made to the new religion, we may infer the existence of a numerous church. The genius of the gospel is eminently social; and the character of the times tended to draw the persecuted disciples together.

The *relative proportion* of Jewish and Gentile elements in the church has been debated. The more prevailing opinion is, that the Gentile christians preponderated at the time when the letter before us was written. The community consisted at first of Jewish elements, to which were added Gentile christians in number far exceeding the former. This is the opinion of Paulus, Neander, Rückert, De Wette, Olshausen, and Tholuck; while Henke, Koppe, Hänlein, Meyer, and especially Baur, adopt the contrary.[n] Apart from *a priori* considerations, which will readily suggest themselves to the inquirer, let us look into the epistle itself for intimations affecting the question.

The first passage to which Rückert and Neander[o] refer for proof that the mass of the community consisted of Gentile christians, is in the first chapter, at the fifth verse: "by whom we have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name, among whom," etc. etc. Here the word ἐθνη means *the heathen*, not the nations generally; and as Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles, not of Jews and Gentiles together, it is implied that the great body of the Roman christians were Gentiles. We attribute no special weight to this testimony. To deduce from it what Rückert, Tholuck,[p] and Neander have done, is to press it into a service for which it seems ill-adapted. The apostle merely adduces his commission, which was of the same extent as that originally given by Christ to the

[n] In the Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie for 1836, and more recently in his Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, u. s. w. He is followed of course by Schwegler.

[o] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. p. 454, vol. i. 4th ed.

[p] Kommentar zum Briefe Pauli an die Römer. Einleit. p. 15. ed. 1842.

other apostles, intending to shew the Roman christians that he was fully warranted to address them notwithstanding their distance from Judea. Another passage in the first chapter, to which Rückert appeals, is in the thirteenth verse: "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (but was let hitherto), that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles." These words are more appropriate, although they do not seem to us legitimately to exclude the existence of many Jews in the Roman church. But they obviously affirm, that the community was essentially a Gentile community, composed of converts from heathenism. It is not probable that *the majority* were *Jewish christians*, when the use of the term ἔθνη in the New Testament is considered. A third place in the epistle on which Tholuck lays considerable stress, is chapter xv. 15, 16: "Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." Here Paul declares himself to be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, that the offering of *the Gentiles*, or, as the connexion limits it, the offering of *the Roman christians*, as well as that of the Jews, might be acceptable to God. This language is certainly more accordant with the fact, that the main body of the church consisted of Gentiles rather than Jews. These are all the proofs belonging to the epistle itself. They do not however possess that validity which Rückert, Neander, and Tholuck suppose. They afford *a strong presumption* in favour of the opinion; but *as witnesses* their testimony is hardly conclusive. An impartial judge would scarcely venture to pronounce them *perfectly* sufficient.

The recent attempt of Krehl[q] to shew that the majority were Jewish christians is certainly unsuccessful. Without canvassing his observations with a minuteness to which their intrinsic value does not entitle them, we may be allowed to express astonishment

[q] Der Brief an die Römer ausgelegt, u. s. w. Einleitung, p. 19 - 21.

at *the confidence* with which, after Meyer, he relies on the passage (vii. 1), Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, γινώσκουσι γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ. "Know ye not, brethren, for I speak to them that know the law." "This verse," says he, "is completely decisive." As if the writer did not turn more directly to one class in the church in some parts of the epistle, and in other parts to another class. Here he has chiefly in view the Jewish christians and *proselytes;* to the latter of whom, though Gentiles, the words are applicable.

III. *Time and place of writing.*

Critics have generally agreed in assigning the time and place at which the epistle was written. Intimations of a distinct and unambiguous nature in the letter itself, and in other communications proceeding from the apostle, leave no reasonable room for diversity of opinion. Aquila and Priscilla had returned to Rome, whence they had been driven by a decree of Claudius, issued, according to Orosius, in the ninth year of that emperor's reign (Acts xviii. 2); but when Paul wrote his first epistle to the Corinthians they were at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 9; Romans xvi. 3). Hence the letter was written *after* the decree of Claudius, and *after* these Christians had exposed themselves to imminent peril on behalf of Paul, probably at Ephesus, to which place the apostle returned after leaving them there, and making a journey through the neighbouring regions. From it too he wrote the first epistle to the Corinthians, as the salutation of Aquila and Priscilla, contained in that epistle, demonstrates. Thus these two Christians had left Ephesus and returned to Rome. At the time it was written, he was about to go to Jerusalem to minister to the saints, with contributions from Macedonia and Achaia (xv. 25, 26). In the first epistle to the Corinthians (xvi. 1 - 4), he speaks of the possibility of going in person to Jerusalem with the contributions of Achaia, after he had paid Corinth a second visit; and in the second epistle, we find that he had proceeded towards Corinth on this visit as far as Macedonia, while a contribution was going on. From these passages in connexion with Acts xix. 21, xx. 2, 3, we infer, that the epistle was composed towards the close of Paul's second visit to Corinth. That it was written from Corinth may be farther inferred from the circumstance that Caius,

an inhabitant of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14), sends a salutation to the Roman christians. Erastus is also mentioned as steward of the city where the apostle wrote; and we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 20, that he dwelt at *Corinth*. Phebe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, is also commended to the Romans; and Cenchrea was the port of *Corinth*. From the manner in which she is introduced to the favourable regard of the Roman christians, it is conjectured that she was the bearer of the epistle, either alone or in company with others. Hence the epistle was written A. D. 57, or the beginning of 58.

The only departures from the current and correct view are exhibited by Paulus[r] and Tobler,[s] the former maintaining that the epistle was written in Illyria, the latter that it was of later origin than Paul's first captivity at Rome. These singular notions in regard to place and time are obviously refuted by the letter itself; and there is no need to advance aught against them, since they have been adopted by none but their authors.

IV. *The apostle's object.*

The great object of Paul in the present epistle was to set forth the essential truths of the gospel in their adaptation to sinful humanity—to expound the plan of salvation as intended to confer equal blessings and privileges on all. Here the scheme of divine truth in its leading features is brought before the mind of the reader. The cardinal doctrines of Christianity are inculcated in substance. The writer's design was eminently *didactic*. It was this simple but comprehensive object which filled his soul, giving rise to an epistle of ampler range and profounder views than any other apostolic communication. Hence the document is chiefly *doctrinal*, although admonition to practical duties is not wanting as a fitting sequel. In thus fixing the prominent purpose of the apostle, we believe that we are supported by the contents of the letter itself. The writer states that he had long cherished the hope of visiting the Christians at Rome in person and preaching the gospel to them; but that he had been pre-

[r] Erklärung des Römerbriefs, p. 321.

[s] Theolog. Aufsätze und Andachtsblätter, p. 41, et seq.

vented from fulfilling his intention by external hindrances. He strongly desired to confirm and establish them in the truth, as well as to be edified and comforted himself by witnessing their progress in divine knowledge. He longed to have some fruit among them, as he had reaped among others. Called of God to be the apostle of the Gentiles, in the exercise of a commission so honourable yet at the same time so extensive he longed to visit the converts at Rome, that he might instruct and strengthen them in the faith (i. 11 - 15, xv. 15, 16). The compass and systematic plan of the epistle, written as it was to supply the place of his personal teaching, accord with this *general* object. Paul's anxiety to go to Rome in the prosecution of his high office may be readily accounted for. The importance of the church in that place could not well be overrated. Christianity planted in the centre and seat of heathenism—in the metropolis of the world—was a phenomenon evincing the divine power, and likely to attract the notice of the multitudes who resorted thither from all countries. Having taken root there, it would spread the more rapidly, diffusing itself widely around. The triumph of it in the very citadel of idolatry, where the deities of so many conquered people had their altars, was an event of great consequence. Opposed as it was in that city by priestly and political power, despised by the pagans, fanatically attacked by the Jews, its victory was at once a decided proof of its heavenly origin, and a pledge of its permanence. Thus in a place where so many circumstances favoured the dissemination of the truth in distant lands, though powerful influences combined to stifle its growth, it is perfectly natural that the ardent apostle of the Gentiles should have longed to appear, that he might preach the truth with greater energy, and build up the believers against apostasy. There was much danger of their falling away. The purity of religion was exceedingly liable to be contaminated by the debasing admixture of human inventions. Gladly therefore would Paul have visited the converts in person, to comfort them amid their manifold trials, and establish them immovably on the true foundation. But his hopes were frequently frustrated. Unforeseen circumstances hindered their fulfilment. Other labours and spheres of activity detained him. The purpose to write to the Roman christians must have frequently

occurred to his mind, and become stronger and stronger, in proportion as the certainty of a personal visit was lost in the dimness of the future. But the time for sending an epistle did not arrive until the divine influence impelled his mind to the actual work of dictation, when Phebe was leaving Cenchrea for Rome. To her the epistolary communication was entrusted. Nor is it improbable that he may have been confirmed in the idea of discharging a debt which he owed the Romans equally with other Gentiles, by accounts received from Rome through Aquila and others who had returned to it, as well as by the circumstance that several of his disciples took an active part in planting and training the church belonging to the imperial city.

The correctness of these observations is attested by the entire tone of the letter itself. The leading object of the writer is never deduced from special circumstances in the church itself. On the contrary, the ground taken is *general*, just as the writer's commission was general. The exposition of the gospel to the converts forms his great theme. Not that his readers were ignorant of that gospel. But they were comparatively unacquainted with its holy doctrines in those sublime and comprehensive aspects which he knew how to present. The seed of the word, it is true, had taken root within them, and they were advancing in the faith. But they needed to be taught by such a master as the apostle of the Gentiles, who could *pre-eminently* exhibit the essence of divine truth in a way becoming its majesty.

But although the prominent object of the epistle was to instruct the Christians at Rome by unfolding the gospel system in its universal adaptation and efficacy, *subordinate* and *secondary* purposes are not excluded. While the apostle's main design is developed, we may discover references to the special exigencies of the church. There is *a general* purpose which the writer pursues throughout, rising far above the specialities of the Roman church. But these *specialities* are not neglected. They are incorporated in the execution of the leading object. Allusions are made to them proportionate to their importance and probable consequences. To seek the great end of the apostle in any of these minute particularities were to narrow *the general* aspect of the doctrinal system

contained in the epistle; while to deny all peculiar allusion to the state of feeling in the members of the church itself, were to overlook several statements which are difficult of explanation on any other supposition.

Various things connected with the condition of the church combined to influence the apostle's mind, and to mould, in some degree, the form of the epistle. He wished to reconcile differences between the Jewish and Gentile christians on topics about which they generally exhibited a diversity of opinion. Between these two classes there was always a degree of jealousy. The seeds of dissension lay in their doctrinal views. The Jew, after embracing Christianity, was still inclined to observe the Mosaic law, valuing its obligations too highly to renounce them at once and for ever. He was prone to seek salvation through faith in Christ *in connexion with* the rites and ceremonies amid which he had been nurtured. On the other hand, the Gentile christian, despising the Jew's attachment to outward forms, presumed amid gospel freedom to do certain things which were calculated to offend the scrupulous conscience of his less enlightened brother. Thus there was a perpetual tendency to variance between the parties. It were unwarrantable perhaps to assume, that strife had actually appeared in the Roman church when Paul wrote his epistle; but it is highly probable that the elements of it had begun to ferment, if not to wear an outward aspect. These elements of contention were certainly less visible at Rome than in the Galatian churches. In this manner we may account for various allusions in the last three chapters, where the prejudices of Judaism are manifestly hinted at. The admonitions addressed to the weak and the strong in the fourteenth chapter refer to the Jewish and Gentile christians respectively. Again; in chap. xv. 7 it is written, "Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God;" and in xvi. 17, "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them." In addition to these particular places, the doctrinal part generally is presented in such an aspect as to shew that Jew and Gentile were alike under the gospel, standing in equal need of justification by faith, irrespective of outward observances or the deeds

of the law. Thus at least a *tendency* to dispute existed in the church, although the Jewish direction on the one hand and the free spirit on the other are not very strongly marked in the epistle, the apostle's admonitions being rather intended *to prevent* unseemly division than to heal it. Jealousies and alienations had arisen, but they had not proceeded to a decisive and open rupture. Hence the apostle could not have derived his chief incentive to writing from them. They did not form *the prominent* reason for sending the present epistle. They were only *subordinate.* They aided in strengthening his resolution, but they were not sufficient of themselves to originate it. Paul had a sublime purpose in the epistle. His vision rose far above local circumstances. He intended to establish Christian truth on an immovable basis in the very centre of heathenism, that its victory might be exhibited in the high places of idolatry, and be continued through the known world.

But this topic demands a more minute discussion, since it has been extensively canvassed by recent writers whose views are far from harmonious. The differences of opinion existing in the bosom of the church, as far as we have any evidence in the epistle itself, arose from the simple fact that Jews and Gentiles were found in the one community. Existing disputes, whatever they were, had their origin in the law of Moses, and the position it was supposed to occupy under the new economy. The Jewish christians took one view of its obligations; the Gentile christians another. Hence their tendency to division. The former manifested *the germ* of a Judaising tendency; the latter an offence against the law of charity. The former, adhering to the rites of the ceremonial law, did not dare to eat meat lest it might have been defiled; the latter, looking at the law of Christ respecting food, and perceiving that all meats are alike under the gospel, boldly maintained their Christian liberty. The former, observed the sacred days of the Jewish ritual; the latter, esteemed every day alike sacred. In so far as the former insisted that all should observe the peculiarities of the Mosaic law, they might be called *Judaisers;* though not such Judaisers as are generally referred to in Paul's epistles. Judging from the fourteenth chapter we infer, that they were honest but weak-minded be-

lievers, not sufficiently enlightened in regard to the nature of Christian liberty under the gospel. Their abstinence from animal food arose from scrupulous anxiety not to displease the great author of the Mosaic law. They meant well, but they were subject to prejudice. Their conscience was over-scrupulous. There is no evidence that they resembled the Galatian Judaisers; for there is a total silence in regard to their insisting on circumcision as necessary to the salvation of the Gentiles. Perhaps they looked upon the situation of the Gentile christians as *critical*, yet not *absolutely endangering salvation*. Possessing true faith, though weak in degree, and a sensitive conscience, they were restrained by these very attributes from becoming active and dangerous proselytisers.

The difference of opinion to which we have just adverted led to a corresponding diversity of ecclesiastical practice. Both classes, attaching importance to the question at issue, brought forward their peculiar views when a member was to be admitted into fellowship. Thus their differences were pressed at a time and in a way which tended to disunion.

In admonishing these two parties in the church, the apostle asserts Christian truth in connexion with Christian charity. He affirms the principle of Christ's law respecting clean and unclean food, sacred and common days—a principle which the Gentile christians clearly perceived—although at the same time he does not absolutely condemn the Jewish christians on account of observing such ceremonial distinctions, as long as their conduct in this respect proceeded from conscientious scruples. He decides that no member should be refused admission because his opinions did not correspond with one party. Christ had imposed no law on his servants relative to the point in debate; and they were not justified in attempting to add a law of their own. Their plain duty was to receive every one whom Christ had received, although he might not in minor matters believe or act in the precise way which they desired. As long as he appeared to act conscientiously, he should be allowed to follow his own sense of duty without having an arbitrary rule imposed upon him. Thus the law of Christ, as expounded by Paul, was opposed to both classes in so far as they pressed their theoretic opinions on the candidate

for communion; because in so doing they were endeavouring to establish a rule where Christ had left free scope for the exercise of Christian discretion.

After determining the principles of Christian liberty, the apostle's observations regarding their application are specially directed against the Gentile portion of the community. Although all kinds of food and all days were alike, it was not a matter of indifference *in all circumstances* whether one kind of food might be as innocently eaten as another. There is a law of Christian *charity* not less than a law of Christian *liberty*. If by eating a particular kind of food the Gentile christians wounded the conscience of a weak Jewish brother, or put a stumbling-block in his way, they were required to abstain from such food. It was their duty to sacrifice the indulgence of appetite to the spiritual benefit of a believer. Thus the law of charity modifies and regulates the law of liberty. Things indifferent in themselves cease to be so when injury is done to the cause of God by following a particular course.

In accordance with this view we understand the words of chapter xv. 7, "receive ye one another," in the same manner as in the phrase, "him that is weak in the faith receive ye," in the fourteenth chapter: "receive one another into your fellowship," the Jewish christian making no objection to the Gentile, although the latter should consider it his duty not to keep the Mosaic law; and the Gentile christian making no objection to the admission of a Jewish christian who is of opinion that the Old Testament ritual is obligatory. The apostle exhorts them not to raise any discussion on such disputed points, but to admit freely and cordially into their community either a Gentile or Jewish christian if they had reason to believe that Christ had received him, although his sentiments on minor matters might not coincide with those of one party in the church.

The language of Paul in chapter xvi. 17-20 has been understood by some interpreters in close connexion with the fourteenth chapter, as if *the weak in faith* spoken of in the latter, had come under the seducing influence of Judaisers who caused divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine of Christ; or as if the Judaisers belonged to the church at Rome. To us however the divisions

alluded to in the present verses do not appear identical with the diversities of opinion which the apostle touches so mildly in the fourteenth chapter. His language, if we may judge from analogy, would have been far more severe on the supposition that there *is* such a connexion. Comparing the words of Philipp. iii. 2, 18, 19, with those under consideration, the reference would seem to be to Judaising zealots whose motives were far from pure—persons not actuated by love for the Mosaic law, but by sordid selfishness. Such individuals were found in most places where churches were early planted. They were Paul's special enemies. In the present case, the apostle does not speak of them as having exerted any influence on the community at Rome; he merely supposes it possible that they may have come to the city, and naturally warns the believers against the danger. Tholuck thinks, that Judaising errorists had actually arrived at Rome, because the words, "and the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly," are inconsistent with the idea of the *mere possibility* of false teachers coming to disturb the church. It is well known, that the term *peace* has an extended signification in the New Testament, expressing the blessings of salvation generally. The phrase, *God of peace* need not therefore be taken in direct contrast with *the divisions* of the seventeenth verse, but in opposition to *κακὸν* in the nineteenth.[t] Satan is represented as the source of all evil.

We have thus seen, that a subordinate purpose of the apostle in the letter before us was to bring the Jewish christian and Gentile parties in the church into a state of perfect concord by removing the prejudices and pretensions of both, and adjusting everything likely to disturb their future peace. This was not his *leading* or *ultimate object.* It was a secondary aim which he sought to accomplish, while pursuing a greater. The writer does not seek to effect it in the way of direct attack, but his observations are allied to mild reproof. They preserve a general bearing and didactic form, while reference to two classes composing the church is partially obscured by that very circumstance.

It is highly probable too, that the apostle had respect to the

[t] See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch, 4th ed. pp. 198, 199

circumstances of the converts in the discussion regarding civil government. He intended to check the restless spirit of the Roman christians, especially the Jewish christians, and their opposition to the ruling powers. Some apprehension was entertained lest the Jewish converts should cherish the sentiments which they held regarding the heathen magistracy before they became christians, and be tempted to rebel against the government. They were accustomed to submit to the Roman yoke with reluctance and uneasiness. When they looked at the oppression they had to endure under it, and contrasted their religion with the debasing idolatry of the powers that crushed them, they were inclined to revolt against the system as odious in the sight of God. These feelings they carried into the Christian religion. Nor were the Gentile converts wholly secure against the temptation of regarding the civil institutions which supported a system of abominable idolatry, as inimical to social order. In their zeal to abolish paganism they might readily denounce the ruling powers as unworthy of allegiance. It is true there is no evidence in the epistle that either class in the church, or both classes together, had become rebels to the reigning authorities, cruel though those authorities were; but the apostle was probably aware of certain manifestations of feeling, which might be prejudicial to the cause of Christianity. The subject was both delicate and important; and it is treated with the ability of a master. Paul gives it a general bearing, so that in the universality of its aspect towards all Christians, the special circumstances to which the topic probably owed its introduction into the epistle, are liable to be forgotten. He discusses it in its fundamental principles, leaving the application to the judgment of Christians in their particular relations.

On the whole, we agree with those who discover various allusions in the epistle to the peculiar circumstances and sentiments of the members composing the church. We find such allusions to differences of opinion between the two classes of Gentile and Jewish christians, and to the rebellious attitude they were in danger of assuming towards the ruling heathen power. In both cases, Jewish christians are pointed at much more than the other class. But the apostle never intended to limit his

discussion to these local feelings; nor did they form the starting point of his great theme. They are touched in connexion with his leading aim, and incorporated with the general principles that form the body of the epistle. The particular is combined with the general; the former being in a good degree absorbed in the latter. The individual questions affecting the Roman church at the period in question are brought under *general principles*.

If the leading object of Paul has been correctly stated in connexion with the influence which local circumstances and feelings may have had upon his mind, we shall perceive the defectiveness of various hypotheses that have been advanced upon the subject. It has been, for instance, a very general opinion, that *the chief design* of the apostle in this epistle, was to reconcile the Jewish and Gentile christian parties. This view, under various modifications, was held by Willet and Pareus among the older divines; and among the moderns, by Kleuker, Hug, Hänlein, Bertholdt, Bretschneider, Schott, etc. But it is too narrow. The tone, character, and contents of the epistle bear a more general aspect. Besides; it is inconsistent with the affirmation of Paul himself in chapters i. 13; xv. 22; xv. 15, 16. It is not justified by the doctrinal portion of the epistle. In the admonitory and practical part it is more obvious; but if it furnished the principal cause for writing, why is it kept so much in the back ground? We have already endeavoured to assign a *secondary* place to this object in the mind of the writer. *So far only* is it correct.

According to Flatt,[u] the object of Paul was to prevent the abuse of the doctrine of free grace which was a prominent part of his dogmatic system, or to obviate misconceptions that may have arisen respecting it. But the sixth chapter alone alludes to this point; and it is unwarrantable to derive the leading purpose of the writer from a small portion of the work instead of the whole.

The question whether Paul in the present epistle assumes a tone directly or indirectly *polemical* depends in a good degree on the meaning attached to the word. It is not *directly polemical* either against the Jews at Rome, or against *Judaising* christians, or against the *Jewish* christians belonging to the church. Neither

[u] Vorlesungen über den Brief an die Römer, u. s. w. p. 477, et seq.

is it *directly polemical* against believers of Gentile origin. If by *indirectly polemical* it be understood that the writer finds fault with any of the two parties in the church, the question must be answered in the affirmative. In the fourteenth chapter he endeavours to cement them together in the church by expounding the principle of Christian liberty in connexion with Christian charity — a principle which had been violated by both. He exhorts the Jewish converts not to condemn the Gentile brethren as guilty of idolatry, because the latter partook of animal food indiscriminately; and the Gentile christians not to despise the Jewish brethren as weak and narrow-minded, because the latter did not divest themselves of adherence to the Mosaic ritual. Both were in the wrong, although their errors were comparatively harmless; and both are reproved in gentle terms by the apostle. There is no polemical tendency in the letter against *Judaising* teachers properly so called, either direct or indirect; because there is no evidence that such had come to Rome; or if already in Rome, that they had exerted an influence on the minds of the Christians there.

We have all along assumed, that *the abstinence* spoken of in the fourteenth chapter was connected with the law of Moses — an abstinence founded on the prescriptions of a ritual which drew a line of distinction between things clean and unclean. Others have referred this abstinence to an *ascetic* disposition which laid undue stress on self-denial in the use of food, as conducive to peculiar sanctity. Agreeably to this latter opinion, different classes of ascetics have been fixed upon, to which these individuals are supposed to belong. Some think that they belonged to the Essenes; others to the theosophic Pythagoreans; and others to the Eclectics. It is not probable that any of these are meant. The fourteenth verse shews, that *clean and unclean meats* were the particular things to which the individuals described turned their attention. The adjective κοινὸς is the very term elsewhere employed to denote food forbidden by the law of Moses. On the contrary, ascetics were not occupied with this distinction, but with abstinence generally. The attempt of Tholuck to neutralise the force of this argument is not successful. Besides; the epithet *weak* in the faith is scarcely appropriate in its application to such

ascetics; *sanctimonious*, striving after outward sanctity by the deeds of the law, would have been their proper description. Granting them to have been Jewish ascetics, it is altogether probable, judging from Coloss. ii. 16, that the apostle would have employed some stronger phrase than "weak in the faith," which implies that their prejudices were harmless. In the epistle to the Colossians, Paul speaks of ascetics in condemnatory language. An attentive examination of the whole chapter has convinced us, that it contains the same topic as the eighth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; and that the scrupulousness manifested by the Jewish christians had its origin in the law of Moses. There is no need to *confine* the reference either to the meats forbidden in the law as unclean, or to the flesh of animals which had been offered in sacrifice to idols. Both should be included.

There are two things however which appear somewhat difficult of explanation on the ground that has been taken.

First. Some at least, if not all the persons in question, abstained from animal flesh and partook of vegetables alone (verse 2).

Secondly. The drinking of wine, which was connected with the question, *was allowed* by the Mosaic law (verse 21). In reply to these considerations it may be said, that the Jewish christians, in their scrupulous anxiety respecting purity, *extended* the Mosaic law by abstaining from all flesh, because they knew that the heathen partook of flesh which had been offered to the gods in sacrifice. Wine was used in libations to the deities, so that they thought it right to discontinue its use, although not forbidden by the Levitical code.

The two leading views taken of the persons in question are nearly allied. It is not difficult to see how an anxious scupulosity to keep the law of Moses would lead to total abstinence from flesh and wine because of their employment in heathen rites—a point to which some of the Jewish christians at Rome had been actually brought. The next step would naturally consist in practising various austerities still farther removed from the Levitical precepts, and connected with the idea of their promoting uncommon sanctity. The difference between the two opinions lies in *the degree of self-denial* to which these weak individuals had advanced. If they had gone no farther than what we have sup-

posed, they had *the elements* of Jewish asceticism in a form not liable to strong objection. Their motives were good, but their minds were not enlightened. They did not think that a rigid abstinence from flesh and wine was the means of acquiring greater holiness; neither did they believe that observance of the Mosaic law was absolutely necessary to salvation. They *judged* indeed their Gentile brethren; but that term need not be so pressed as to denote *excommunication*, or *exclusion from the kingdom of heaven.* They attached importance to the Levitical code, without going so far as to denounce those denying its obligation as unbelievers. They laid stress upon their views, adducing them at the admission of members into fellowship; but yet all the judgment they appear to have passed on their Gentile brethren consisted in affirming that the state of the latter was critical in the sight of God. If however they had been Jewish *ascetics* properly so called, their motives had been less pure and their austerities greater. In that case, they must have associated sanctity with their mortifications; while their peculiar opinions and practices would have been urged upon others with greater vehemence, enforced by the severer condemnation of all who did not think and act like themselves. To that extent they had not advanced when the apostle wrote. The seeds of asceticism were in their sentiments and conduct; but they had not sprung up in the shape of noxious tares. Persons of this character *were in great danger* of yielding to the temptation of ulterior progress in the same direction, and of becoming *true ascetics.* *As yet* they were scarcely entitled to that appellation. They stood on better ground.

The characteristic doctrine of the epistle, viz. salvation by faith alone, not by works of the law, has been thought by some directed against the Jews. This is De Wette's opinion, and was long before urged by Eichhorn in a more objectionable form. Theodoret in ancient times held the same view. According to De Wette, the epistle to the Galatians adduces the same doctrine as our present epistle, and enforces it in opposition to Jewish christian errors; while it is here unfolded in its comprehensive character against Judaism. It is true, that the pride of the Jewish people with regard to their law was an exclusive principle; and

that their pretensions were of such a kind as to prejudice even the Gentiles against Christianity. Their narrow spirit could ill accord with the truth of the gospel inculcating *one* mode of salvation for Jew and Gentile, and that mode, faith in Christ alone, irrespective of works. But it is not probable that the apostle *intended* to humble the pride of the Jews in the doctrinal part of his epistle; or that they were especially in his view as a class to be combated and convinced of their errors. His object was not *polemic*. It was rather *didactic*. He designed to expound the leading doctrine of the gospel, salvation by faith, in its comprehensive bearings; and knew that the subject should present an actual antagonism to the proud pretensions of the Jews. But it was not his leading object to oppose these assumptions. In the accomplishment of his plan, a sufficient refutation of their national prejudices is furnished. The nature of the great subject on which he dwells, rebukes the exclusive spirit of the nation. In enlarging upon it, the peculiarities of Jewish feeling and sentiment are *virtually* confuted. All that can be conceded to those who think that the doctrinal exposition of the apostle was directed against Judaism is, that such aspects of the truth as bear with effect upon it are more prominent and numerous. Not that heathenism is lost sight of. It is also opposed in the same way with Judaism; though the aspects of justification directly unfavourable to it are less conspicuous. Still the writer meant emphatically *to teach;* in doing which he knew that Judaism and Gentilism in their alleged sufficiency to save the sinner should be equally disproved. From the former greater danger was to be apprehended; and therefore the doctrine of justification by faith alone is presented in a light peculiarly adverse to the claims of that system.

Professor Baur gives a peculiar representation of the apostle's leading object in writing this epistle.[x] He holds that it was *polemic*. The Jewish christians formed the chief part of the Roman church, among whom an anti-Pauline tendency had begun to develop itself very early. These believers took offence

[x] See the Tübinger Zeitschrift for 1836, H. 3, and his *Paulus der Apostel*, u. s. w. p. 342, et seq.

at the ministry of Paul, because they saw it effective in bringing constantly increasing numbers into the kingdom of Messiah, while Israel as a nation was excluded from it. Hence they made objections to the apostle's *universalism.* As long as the nation of Israel—the divinely chosen people—did not participate in the grace of the gospel, they regarded the reception of the Gentiles into Messiah's kingdom as an abridgment of *their* prerogatives, an injustice done to them, a contrariety to the promises made to the Jews as Jehovah's people. They denied that *the same way* of salvation was open to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. On the contrary, they asserted that Christian salvation has only *a particular*, not a universal bearing; and that the bestowment of gospel grace depends on *national privileges* rather than the universal wants of humanity. Hence the epistle was written to meet this state of belief and feeling in the church. It is a justification of Paul's apostleship, called forth by Jewish christian antagonism. It was meant to assert his peculiar calling as the apostle of the Gentiles. No friendly circumstances gave rise to it. It arose out of unfavourable views in the church, where the Gentile christians were as nothing compared with the Jewish christian believers. Hence the tone of the composition is *polemic*, or at least *apologetic.*

Agreeably to this hypothesis, Baur regards chapters ix.—xi. as the centre and nucleus of the entire epistle—the substance of the whole work. They are the proper theme and body of it, the essential portion which gave occasion to the writing of it.

It is difficult, however, for an impartial reader to overlook the apostle's own declarations in i. 8-16, or to avoid perceiving that *the proper theme* is announced in the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the first chapter. Instead of i. 18—viii. 39 being introductory to ix.—xi., they present the unfolding of the subject as it is declared in i. 16, 17. Besides; in the three chapters specified, the apostle does not speak of Jewish christians who wished to exclude the Gentiles from the Messianic kingdom, but of Jews who, seeking to be justified by works of law, opposed faith in Christ as the ground of justification. It is also apparent that the writer expresses the most friendly sentiments towards the Roman christians. He had long desired to preach among them. Their faith

was spoken of throughout the whole world. He was on the whole satisfied with their state. Hence, when he longed to see them, it was that *he might be comforted together with them by the mutual faith of both* (i. 8 - 12). He looks on the gospel *they* had received as identical with *his* gospel (vi. 17, xvi. 17, 25). He had many friends and acquaintances among them, as we learn from the sixteenth chapter. We must therefore consider the epistle as opposed to *the object* Baur attributes to the writer of it. It cannot be shewn that the great body of the Roman christians were *Jewish* believers at the time of Paul's writing to them. It cannot be proved that such Jewish christians as existed in the church had imbibed the narrow, incorrect views assigned to them. It cannot be made probable that the three chapters (ix.—xi.) contain the proper theme and substance of the epistle, the other parts being introductory or subsidiary. Such positions disagree with the tenor and contents of the work itself, and are rejected accordingly by almost all recent expositors.[y]

V. *The language.*

There is no proof that the epistle was written in the Latin language, although it may seem strange at first sight that an apostle addressing the Romans did not employ the Roman tongue. All ancient MSS. and versions imply that the Greek epistle is *an original*, not *a translation;* nor is there the least evidence that Paul wrote in any other tongue than that in which he had been educated. Hence the assertion of the Syriac scholiast on the Peshito, that the letter was composed רומאית is groundless; while the same opinion advanced by Salmero and Harduin, from partiality to the Vulgate, has been long ago renounced by Catholics themselves. That the Greek language was understood and employed at Rome when Paul wrote the epistle before us, cannot be questioned. The Jews residing there were acquainted with it, as well as the Jews of Palestine and other lands. They learned it by intercourse with the Greek-speaking inhabitants, and by connexion with the Romans themselves, many of whom preferred it to the Latin. The oldest Jewish tombs of Rome have

[y] See Philippi, Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer; Einleit. pp. 21 - 24.

none except Grecian inscriptions, as we learn from Aringhi. The Gentile christians generally understood Greek, as we may infer from various witnesses. Thus Martial:—

> Rusticus es? nescis quid Graeco nomine dicar.
> Spuma vocor nitri. Graecus es? ἀφρόνιτρον.[z]

Tacitus writes:—"Nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae ancillae, cui adjungitur," etc.[a]

Juvenal ridicules the excessive love of Grecian manners in such terms as the following:—

> Nam quid rancidius, quam quod se non putat ulla
> Formosam, nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est?
> De Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? omnia Graece,
> Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.
> Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
> Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. Quid ultra?
> Concumbunt Graece, etc.[b]

To the same effect, Tertullian says:—"Lingua (Graeca) jam penes Latium est;"[c] and Ovid:—

> Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes
> Cura sit, et linguas edidicisse duas.[d]

Ignatius, Dionysius of Corinth, and Irenaeus wrote in Greek to the Roman christians. Justin Martyr, who resided for some time in Rome, addressed his apologies to the Roman emperors in the same language. The ancient martyrology of Justin is also in Greek. Of the names of the first twelve bishops of Rome, ten are Greek and only two Latin. Clement wrote in Greek; so also Hermas wrote his ποιμὴν, or *Shepherd*, in the same tongue. The diffusion of the Greek language was greatly promoted by the numbers of Greeks who flocked into the city. The majority of slaves, mechanics, and artisans were of Greek origin; and the Romans, addicted to foreign practices, were ready to adopt the language of that nation. Hence Greek became the tongue of the more cultivated.

[z] Epigr. lib. xiv. 58.
[a] Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 29.
[b] Sat. vi. 185.
[c] De Pallio, c. 3.
[d] De Arte Amand. lib. ii. v. 121.

It is unnecessary to refer to the singular hypothesis of Bolten and Bertholdt, that the apostle wrote in Aramaean. It carries along with it its own refutation.

VI. *Integrity.*

The last two chapters, or parts of them at least, have been rejected by some critics as not properly belonging to the epistle.

(*a*) Some discard the doxology (xvi. 25 - 27), or suppose that it should occupy another place.

(*b*) Others throw discredit on the fifteenth chapter.

(*c*) Others on the sixteenth; while

(*d*) Some deny the authenticity of both.

Let us glance at these hypotheses. And here we must express our disapprobation of the rashness with which many critics proceed in the determination of questions like the present. With a boldness or love of singularity they leap to conclusions, and disdain a careful estimate of evidence. Conjectures are hazarded without the shadow of a reason.

(*a*) Suspicions have been entertained against the doxology, as if it did not proceed from Paul. The following is a summary of the evidence both for and against the verses.

They are found in the place which they occupy in the received text in B. C. D*. E. 16, 66, 80, 137, 176, the Syriac, Erpenian Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Vulgate versions; Rufinus, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and other Latin writers.

They are placed at the end of the fourteenth chapter in I and almost all MSS. written in cursive letters; in most Greek lectionaries, the Arabic versions, polyglott and tryglott, the Sclavonic, Armenian in most MSS., in codices mentioned by Rufinus, in Chrysostom, Theodoret, Damascenus, Theophilus of Antioch, Oecumenius, Theodulius.

They are found in both places in A. 5, 17, 109. On the other hand, they are wanting in D**. F. G. (but in the latter there is an empty space after xiv. 23), and in MSS. spoken of by Jerome and Erasmus. Marcion is also adduced as a witness against them; but he arbitrarily cut away the last two chapters of the epistle.

From the preceding summary it will be seen, that the pre-

ponderance of testimony is decidedly in favour of the authenticity.

With regard to the different places they occupy in different documents, it appears to us that they stood at first where most editions now fix them. Judging by ancient testimony, this position is best accredited. It is true that Griesbach, Matthaei, Mace, Bowyer, and Harwood put them at the close of the fourteenth chapter; and that Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Semler, Eichhorn, and others approve of their judgment in so doing. But Scholz, Tischendorf, Lachmann, Knapp, etc. retain them in the usual place. At the end of the fourteenth chapter, they interrupt the close and manifest connexion existing between the twenty-third verse, and the first verse of the fifteenth chapter. In that position, they put into the mouth of the writer a prayer on behalf of those weak in the faith, that they might be established; and the gospel is introduced as the mystery hid from the beginning but now revealed. In Credner's opinion, the apostle intended to finish the letter with the fourteenth chapter, and therefore he affixed the doxology. Resuming his pen, he added the subsequent portion. There is no plausibility in this conjecture, because in that case the epistle is made to terminate without *a salutation.*

Various methods of accounting for the transposition of the portion before us have been devised. Koppe, Gabler, and others explain it by affirming that the sixteenth chapter was not read in public, as indicated by the fact that Euthalius omits it in his capitula. Hence the conclusion of the fourteenth chapter seemed a more suitable place for the doxology than that of the fifteenth. Bertholdt extends the solution by affirming that the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters were omitted from the public lessons, and therefore the doxology was appended to the fourteenth chapter.[e] But it is justly observed by Fritzsche,[f] that both hypotheses are improbable. Euthalius omitted the sixteenth chapter because it contains little else than salutations. The number of στίχοι given in Zacagni's Collectanea Monument. shews that the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters were regarded by him as *one lesson;* while the

[e] Einleit. vol. vi. p. 3305.

[f] Pauli ad Romanos Epistola. Recensuit, etc. Prolegomena, pp. 35, 36.

lectionaries contain both chapters. The true cause of the transposition is to be sought in the supposed unsuitableness of the doxology after the concluding salutation (xvi. 24), and especially at the very end of the epistle, contrary to the analogy of all the Pauline letters. This solution is confirmed by the fact that the critical authorities which have the doxology at the conclusion of the sixteenth chapter are the witnesses, who either omit the salutation preceding the doxology contained in the twenty-fourth verse, or else put it *after* the doxology. Thus A. C., the Coptic, Ethiopic, Vulgate, and Rufinus leave out the twenty-fourth verse; but 17, 80, some editions of the Syriac, the Erpenian Arabic, Philoxenian, Ambrosiaster, adopt the expedient of putting it at the end of the doxology.

It is easy to explain why some authorities have the doxology in both places. The transcribers were sometimes unable to decide which was the true locality, and therefore they inserted it in the two places at the same time.

Internal evidence is chiefly urged against the authenticity of the passage before us. The external, as we have seen, is certainly in its favour. Suspicion was first raised against it by Schmidt, in his Introduction; and afterwards by Vater. But the great opponent of it is Reiche, who rejects it as decidedly supposititious. We shall allude to his reasons for dealing with the passage so arbitrarily.

1. The passage is unsuitable in every position which it is made to occupy.

2. It wants the beautiful simplicity of Paul's doxologies. It is tumid and exaggerated, inserting a number of ideas which have no connexion with the leading wish expressed by the writer.

3. Many of the expressions and combinations are obscure, uncommon, and even unintelligible. Thus it is ambiguous, whether it contain an ascription of praise to God, as at the beginning; or to Christ, as the pronoun ᾧ, referring to Christ, is thought to denote. The thrice-repeated κατὰ has something very drawling; στηριχθῆναι κατὰ εὐαγγέλιον has no definite meaning; κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν can neither be taken exegetically, nor joined to a verb; διὰ τέ γραφῶν προφητικῶν is intolerably lame, and does not suit φανερωθέντος; μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ has no reference to the

wish begun to be expressed by the writer; and lastly, the expression *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is always unintelligible.

4. The joining of *εὐαγγελιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is un-Pauline and inappropriate. The verb *φανεροῦν* is never used by Paul of the declarations of prophets.

5. The doxology is made up of pieces taken from Paul's writings. *Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελιόν μου*, from Romans ii. 16, Galat. i. 6; *ἀποκάλυψις μυστηρίου*, from Ephes. iii. 3, Coloss. i. 26; *χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ*, from 2 Tim. i. 8; *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ*, from Titus i. 1; *εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως*, from Romans i. 5; *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ*, from 1 Tim. vi. 16; *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, from Romans ii. 16, i. 9. The tone given to the whole is in imitation of the similar but appropriate doxology in Hebrews xiii. 20-23.[g]

Before noticing these arguments more particularly, we may direct the reader's attention to the mode in which *subjective feeling* presents itself prominently for the purpose of casting discredit on the passage. Every inquirer should yield unhesitating assent to impartial conclusions deduced from a careful estimate of *all* evidence; but the spirit of the objections just adduced awakens a suspicion of one-sided judgment on the part of the writer.

1. This is a mere assertion. Is it not probable that Paul, after finishing the epistle, read it over, or caused it to be read over to him, and felt a holy impulse to append a sentence of praise to God for the marvellous salvation described in it?

2. This observation belongs to *aesthetics*. The doxology seems to us the gushing forth of an ardent mind like Paul's. It is just such as he would dictate in an excited state arising from the impression made by the whole epistle. An interpolator would have penned a very different sentence.

3. In consequence of the apostle's impassioned ardour, some of the expressions are unusual and obscure; but they are not *unintelligible*. They convey ideas peculiarly Pauline, and are by no means so strange as is here represented.

The construction of the relative *ᾧ* has greatly perplexed commentators. Recently Tholuck and Baumgarten-Crusius refer it to

[g] Einleitung, pp. 6, 7.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Jesus Christ, immediately preceding. But this does not seem probable. The writer begins with the words *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι, κ. τ. λ.* meaning *God the Father*, without naming him. After several clauses, the thread is resumed with *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ* in the twenty-seventh verse, which datives stand in apposition with *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ* in the twenty-fourth. Hence *ᾧ* refers to the clause *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ*, not to *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, because the resumed *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ* shews that to be the leading idea of the doxology. The expression *ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* should belong to *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ immediately*, and without anything intervening; but instead of this it is connected with its proper antecedent by the relative *ᾧ* interposed. In consequence therefore of the relative pronoun the doxology is left incomplete; but there is no necessity for supplying a conclusion as has been variously done by Erasmus, Gloeckler, Koppe, Olshausen, and others.

We see nothing drawling in the thrice repeated preposition *κατά*. Prepositions are often repeated by Paul in the compass of a few clauses (comp. Ephes. i. 12, 13, where *ἐν* occurs three times).

It is both rash and unwarrantable to state that *στηρίζω* with *κατά* and an accusative yields no good sense. The preposition means *in relation to*, and with the word *gospel* the sense will be, *to stablish you in regard to my gospel*, or in the belief of the gospel I preach. *Κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*, according to Fritzsche, Tholuck, Winer, and others, depends on *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι*, *i. e.* who is able to establish you *in consequence of the revelation*, or after the revelation has been made. But the objections to this construction are obvious; and therefore we agree with Meyer and De Wette in rejecting it. It seems to be an added explanation and continuation of the preceding *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. It expresses the same idea essentially. Hence it depends indirectly on the verb *στηρίξαι*. If the Roman christians were established agreeably to the gospel preached by Paul, they would be established *in conformity with and by virtue of the revelation of the mystery which was hid*, etc. The only objection to this interpretation is, that *ἀποκάλυψις* denotes *the act* of revealing, not *the thing revealed*. But this is not always

true, for in Apoc. i. 1 it denotes something revealed about Jesus Christ. Besides, the two ideas are closely associated.

We are unable to perceive the objectionableness of *διὰ τὲ γραφῶν προφητικῶν*. The particle is necessary to connect the two participles *φανερωθέντος* and *γνωρισθέντος*, and therefore *διὰ γραφῶν προφητικῶν* belongs to the latter participle. The mystery was made known by the prophetic scriptures. In declaring it, the apostles were careful to make use of the Old Testament scriptures, pointing out the agreement of the Christian salvation with the disclosures of prophets under the ancient economy.

The expression *to the only wise God* is perfectly appropriate. It accords with the commencement of the doxology. After stating that God is able to establish them in the gospel, the revealing of that gospel so clearly under the New Dispensation—it having been a mystery under the Old—the fact that the Gentiles were called into Messiah's kingdom as well as the Jews, gives rise to the expression, *to the only wise God*, the Author of such an arrangement for revealing and diffusing abroad the mystery among all nations. His wisdom is especially seen in the dispensation appointed and introduced for unfolding the mystery. *Διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* belongs immediately to the preceding words. God manifests himself as the only all-wise Being by Jesus Christ. He reveals his wisdom in the arrangements of the gospel salvation by His Son.

4. Most pertinent is *εὐαγγελιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is another expression for *τὸ εὐαγγελιόν μου*. Having written *my* gospel, the apostle recollects at once that he was nothing more than an instrument in the hand of Christ; and therefore he modestly subjoins *the preaching of Jesus Christ, i. e.* the preaching he has accomplished by me.

5. The doxology bears indubitable evidence of its proceeding from no imitator, compiler, or interpolator. Had it been made by a later hand, and found its way subsequently into the text, it would have had a very different form. The construction would have been simple, facile, complete. The interpolator would have avoided the *anacoluthon* *ᾧ*, etc. There is also hardly any variety in the text, whereas in the case of spurious passages there are usually great differences. A doxology bearing such an aspect of

novelty, not frigidly borrowed from other doxologies, but full of Pauline ideas, and suited to the argument of the entire epistle—the effusion of a holy mind suddenly moved—shews no officious composer, else it would have been far different. We cannot doubt that it proceeded from Paul himself. Schott says, "indoles ejus prorsus Paullina;" "*its tenor is wholly Pauline.*" So too Fritzsche, "hi versus quibus in toto Paulo non alios magis Paullinos invenias;" "*in all Paul's writings, there are no verses more Pauline than these.*" The reasoning of Reiche against them is a burlesque on argumentation.[h] Nor is the flippant mode in which Krehl[i] disposes of the passages likely to advance the same view. His arguments are substantially the same as those of Reiche, and need not therefore be examined. He is compelled to admit that the words are Pauline; but takes offence at the construction and tone of the whole doxology, as if they betrayed an officious compiler who had chiefly before his eyes the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of Jude's epistle. But the evidence in favour of the authenticity overpowers all considerations like those urged by Reiche and Krehl. *Subjectivity* and *misinterpretation of phrases* are insufficient to overthrow the Pauline authorship.

(*b*) Heumann looked upon chapters xii.—xv. as another letter written subsequently to the preceding. Semler[k] thought that the fifteenth chapter is no part of the epistle to the Romans, but that it was intended for those teachers whom the bearers of the letter might visit on their journey. The latter were enjoined to give a copy of it to the more active Christians whom they might chance to meet with by the way. Paulus[l] regards the chapter as a supplement intended for *the enlightened* members of the church alone. According to Griesbach[m] and Eichhorn[n], the chapter was written on a supplemental piece of parchment. It is conjectured that xvi. 21-24 and the doxology were written in

[h] See Fritzsche, Prolegomena, p. 38, et seq.
[i] Der Brief an die Roemer ausgelegt, u. s. w. p. 537, et seq.
[k] De duplice Appendice Ep. ad Romanos, 1767.
[l] Uebersetzung und Erklärung des Röm. und Galat. Brief. Einleit.
[m] Curae in Historiam Textus Graeci Epp. Paul. p. 45, et seq.
[n] Einleit. vol. iii. p. 232, et seq.

the same form. It is needless to do anything more than mention such improbable conjectures at the present day. They have been animadverted on by Bertholdt, Reiche, and other writers, but deserve no refutation. The fifteenth chapter cannot be separated from the fourteenth without violence. The same subject is *continued* in the first verse of the fifteenth down to the termination of the thirteenth verse; from which to the end of the chapter a series of concluding admonitions and remarks presents itself.

Nothing can be built on the alleged fact that Marcion had not the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters in his MS., because it is apparent that he cut off both with unsparing hand.

(*c*) In relation to *the sixteenth* chapter, it has been as often severed from its connexion with the body of the epistle, and with more appearance of truth. Semler judged it to be simply a catalogue of the names of different Christians to be visited by the bearers of the epistle. Eichhorn assumed that xvi. 1 - 20 was a letter of recommendation for Phebe, not intended for Rome but some other place; and that instead of delivering it at the place intended by the writer, she carried it along with her to the imperial city. Ammon conjectured[o] that the chapter consists of a letter of recommendation given to Phebe by the apostle at Corinth, after his release from the first captivity. Schulz[p] assumed that it was written from Rome to the Ephesians; while Schott[q] regarded it as made up of fragments of a smaller epistle written by Paul at Corinth to some Asiatic church. These conjectures are baseless. There is nothing marvellous in the fact of the apostle knowing and saluting many persons at Rome, although he had never been there in person, because there was much intercourse between the metropolis and the provinces. He had become acquainted with several of them in Asia Minor and Greece. It is also true that he makes no mention of them in his epistles which were written from Rome; but who can tell the changes in the church of that place, or the various circumstances by which it was affected? It is also true that Aquila and Priscilla were found at Ephesus shortly before the writing of the present

[o] In the Praefat. to his edition of Koppe on the Romans.

[p] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1829. Heft. 3, p. 609, et seq.

[q] Isagoge, pp. 249 - 251.

epistle, and were subsequently in the same city, although they appear at this time at Rome. But there was sufficient time between the period alluded to in 1 Cor. xvi. 19 and the present, to allow of a change of residence; and perhaps the nature of Aquila's occupation led him to change his abode. The times were unsettled; and the Christians were peculiarly affected by the circumstances of the times.[r]

More recently, Baur has attacked the authenticity of both chapters with new arguments.[s] Other conjectures, for they are nothing more, whose tendency was to throw discredit on them as an integral part of the epistle, had not approved themselves to the judgment of critics; and although they were put forward in rapid succession, they satisfied none except their authors. But this bold and ingenious writer, not deterred by the failure of his predecessors, proceeded with even less ceremony than they, to demolish this portion of the New Testament. His arguments and objections however are exceedingly feeble. They can be easily refuted. They proceed on the truth of the view he takes of the tendency of the epistle. But we do not think his account of the leading object of Paul to be correct. Many of them too have been urged before. As it is not worth while to state them fully and to shew their futility, we may be allowed to refer to Kling's Essay in the Studien und Kritiken for 1837,[t] and to De Wette's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,[u] containing animadversions on the Tübingen writer.

VII. *Authenticity.*

The authenticity of the epistle is indisputable. It is attested by the most ancient witnesses, and has not been questioned by modern critics. Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Theophilus of Antioch, the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, prove that it was universally acknowledged as proceeding from Paul. Clement

[r] See Stuart's Introduction to his able Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, § 5.

[s] Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, u. s. w. p. 398, et seq., and the Tübingen Zeitschrift for 1836.

[t] P. 290, et seq.

[u] P. 205, 4th ed.

of Rome writes:—*Ἀποῤῥίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιὰς, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγητοὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες αἰτοῖς.*[v] "Casting off from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, debates, malignities, deceits, whisperings, backbitings, hatred of God, pride, boasting, and vain-glory and ambition. For they that do such things are hateful to God: and not only they that do them, but they also who have pleasure in them" (compare Romans i. 29-32). Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, has the following words:—*Πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι.*[w] "And must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and every one give an account for himself" (Romans xiv. 10). Theophilus of Antioch says:—*Τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ζητοῦσι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, δαρήσεται ζωὴν αἰώνιον, χαρὰν, εἰρήνην, ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ πλήθη ἀγαθῶν . . . . . τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ . . . . . ἔσται ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός, θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρίαι.*[x] "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for immortality, he will give eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and many good things, etc. . . . . But to the unbelieving and the despisers and them that obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness . . . . . shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish" (Romans ii. 6-9). And in another place:—*Τῷ τὴν τιμήν, τὴν τιμήν· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον· μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας.*[y] "Honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute; to owe no man anything, but only to love all men" (Romans xiii. 7, 8). In the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, as given by Eusebius, occurs the following quotation:—*Οὕτως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκα-*

[v] 1 Ep. ad Corinth. cap. xxxv. pp. 49, 50, ed. Hefele, 1842.
[w] Ad. Philipp. cap. vi. p. 120.
[x] Ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 79, ed Colon. [y] Lib. iii. p. 126.

ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.[z] "Shewing indeed that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us" (Romans viii. 18). Irenaeus writes:—"Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus scribens ad Romanos: Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi, praedestinatus ad evangelium Dei, quod promisit per prophetas suos, etc. Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel dicit, quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in secula."[a] "This same thing Paul has explained, writing to the Romans: 'Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ, predestinated to the gospel of God, which he promised by his prophets,' etc. (comp. Romans i. 1-4). And again writing to the Romans he says of Israel: 'Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever'" (Romans ix. 5). Clement of Alexandria says:—Ἴδε οὖν, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, χρηστότητα καὶ ἀποτομίαν θεοῦ· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πεσόντας, κ. τ. λ.[b] "Behold therefore, saith Paul, the goodness and severity of God," etc. (Romans xi. 22). And in another place:—Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ γράφει· οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ.[c] "In like manner writes Paul in the epistle to the Romans; how shall we who have died to sin live any longer in it?" (Romans vi. 2). Tertullian writes:—"Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus: ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in aevum omne."[d] "But I will call Christ alone God as the same apostle (Paul) does: of whom Christ came; who is, says he, God over all, blessed for ever" (Romans ix. 5). And elsewhere:—". . . . . ut cum ad Romanos natura facere dicens nationes ea, quae sunt legis."[e] ". . . . . as when (Paul writing) to the Romans, saying that the Gentiles do by nature the things of the law" (Romans ii. 14).

The internal character of the epistle, with the historical allusions it contains, coincides with the external evidence in proving

[z] Histor. Eccles. lib. v. ch. 1, p. 7, ed. Heinichen.
[a] Advers. Haeres. lib. iii. cap. 18, p. 239, ed. Grabe.
[b] Paedagog. lib. i. p. 117.
[c] Strom. lib. iii. p. 457.
[d] Advers. Praxeam. cap. xiii.
[e] De Corona, cap. vi.

it to be a true production of the apostle Paul.[f] It bears throughout the marks of his energetic mind. The language and style are remarkably characteristic.

VIII. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into two parts: the first, *doctrinal;* the second, *admonitory.* The former consists of chapters i.—xi.; the latter of chapters xii.—xvi. In subdividing these into sections, six paragraphs may be noticed in the first, and four in the second.

I. Chap. I.—XI. (*a*) i. 1-17. (*b*) i. 18—iii. 20. (*c*) iii. 21—v. 11. (*d*) v. 12—vii. 6. (*e*) vii. 7—viii. 39. (*f*) ix. 1—xi. 36.

II. Chap. XII.—XVI. (*a*) xii. 1—xiii. 14. (*b*) xiv. 1—xv. 13. (*c*) xv. 14-33. (*d*) xvi. 1-27.

I. (*a*) i. 1-17. After the salutation, Paul subjoins a few introductory verses, in which he announces his apostolic calling by the Son of God, his gratitude to God for the faith of the Roman christians, his continual remembrance of them in prayer, his great desire to visit them in person for the purpose of imparting some spiritual gift to them that they might be established in the gospel, whose importance he sets forth in emphatic terms, thus passing to the great theme of the epistle in the sixteenth and seventeenth verses, viz. justification by faith.

(*b*) i. 18—iii. 20. This section is preparatory to the leading doctrine of the gospel which the writer wishes to establish. He shews in it that *all men*, Gentiles and Jews, are sinners, transgressors of the divine law, exposed to the wrath of God; and therefore that they are in need of some other way of salvation than the moral or ceremonial law. He demonstrates, in the first place, the sinfulness of the Gentile world (i. 18-22); and next affirms that the Jews are equally guilty, exposed to the divine condemnation (ii. 1-29). In consequence of this argument, in which the Jews are placed on the same level with the Gentiles, the apostle denying that they had any moral worth or righteousness before God as he had done in the case of the heathen, an objection might readily be raised, as if no value were attached to the

[f] See Paley's Horae Paulinae, chap. ii.

Jewish institution. Having advanced what was apparently derogatory to Judaism, Paul thinks it desirable to soften the seeming severity of his statements by pointing out the peculiar privileges and preference of the Jews, together with the benefit of circumcision (iii. 1-8). After this digression, which interrupts the regular course of the argument, he resumes his course of thought by setting forth the result of what had been already announced to the Jews, as a subject of serious reflection, viz. that there is no difference between them and the Gentiles in relation to the gospel, inasmuch as they had forfeited their privileges by unbelief. Both are alike guilty, as is shewn by quotations from the Old Testament (iii. 9-20).

(*c*) iii. 21—v. 11. Having prepared the way *negatively* for the inculcation of his important theme, by demonstrating that all men are alike guilty sinners before God, the apostle proceeds *affirmatively* to shew, that man obtains true righteousness by faith alone. Here he establishes the proposition announced in the seventeenth verse of the first chapter. Hence this portion of the epistle forms the essence of the doctrinal division — the nucleus around which the other parts are arranged, and to which they are more or less subordinate. The ceremonial and moral law having proved their inability to justify men, God has opened up another way, viz. justification by faith in the atonement of Christ, which is asserted in opposition to Jewish pride. But although his argument is brought to the formal conclusion, that the sinner is justified by faith without the deeds of the law, he yet maintains that the law is *established*, not *made void*, by the doctrine of gratuitous salvation. Thus the objection that the obligation of the law was destroyed by free salvation is obviated (iii. 21-31). The same righteousness by faith without the works of the law was communicated to Abraham and acknowledged by David, and is available not only to *the circumcised* but to *the uncircumcised;* because Abraham was justified when yet *uncircumcised*, that he might be the father of all believers, whether Jews or Gentiles. In pursuing the argument that Abraham was ordained to be the spiritual parent of all true believers he shews, that the promise belonged to him and to his seed not by virtue of the law, but by the righteousness of faith. Hence the same

promise is secure, not only to those who are in possession of the law, but also to such as have like faith with Abraham. After setting Abraham's faith in a strong and striking light, the writer applies to all believers what had been affirmed of the patriarch (iv. 1-25). The blessed consequences of justification by faith are next treated. By it we obtain peace with God, a hope which enables us to glory in afflictions, a consciousness of the divine love of reconciliation to our offended Father (v. 1-11).

(*d*) v. 12—vii. 6. In illustrating his subject Paul proceeds to prove the necessary and perfect adaptation of this mode of salvation to the nature of man. A stream of sinful corruption and death had flowed forth upon the human family from Adam, with whom, as their common progenitor, all men stand in close connexion. But from Christ, the second Adam, proceeds a righteousness which saves and sanctifies guilty humanity. All were sinners. Death, the result of sin, reigned from Adam to Moses, over such has had no positive, revealed law, as well as over those who after the introduction of a written law transgressed it and died. Thus sin and death were universal, exhibited even in the case of such as had nothing but the law of nature. But the salvation introduced by Christ, and characterised by free grace, counterbalances the wide-wasting effects of Adam's one offence. It is even more beneficial in its fruits than the other is destructive. The sentence was passed for one offence, involving condemnation; whereas the free gift has relation to many offences, so as to justify the sinner. Where sin abounded, grace abounds much more. The law could not obviate the consequences of sin, but formed a preparatory institute to the economy of faith, by awakening a consciousness of iniquity, and nourishing the desire for a full redemption. Thus the blessed fruits of salvation by faith alone are compared with the disastrous effects of sin introduced by Adam, in such a manner as to present a remarkable contrast in favour of the former. The remedy, as is shewn, was co-extensive with the disease which it was designed to heal. Salvation through Christ is offered to the whole human family, and is therefore correlative with the ruin of the fall. This sentiment is set forth by analogies and contrasts between Christ and Adam (v. 12-21). After discoursing of the righteousness procured by faith and its

blessed effects, the apostle considers its *moral* results. Free grace, irrespective of all human merit, being the prominent feature of salvation by faith in Christ, an objection might be taken to the doctrine on the ground of its tendency to encourage sin. Hence Paul undertakes to shew, that it furnishes no occasion to licentiousness; but is adapted on the contrary to keep alive the sense of moral responsibility peculiar to man, and to stimulate Christian activity. It furnishes the right motive to morality no less than its life. We should not, it is argued, continue in sin that grace may abound; for the person who is baptized into Christ has died to sin and lives a new life. Sin has no longer dominion over him. He is not under the law, seeking justification by its requirements, but under the influence of a dispensation pervaded by grace (vi. 1-14). Christians dare not sin because they are not under the law but under grace, since they are freed from the bondage of sin producing death, and have yielded themselves to the service of righteousness. The Christian has become dead to the law by the death of Christ, serving God in the tenor of a new, spiritual life (vi. 15—vii. 6).

(*e*) vii. 7—viii. 39. Having mentioned, in the fifth verse of the seventh chapter, the fact, that the law excites and inflames the evil passions of humanity, the apostle now explains and illustrates the point at considerable length, to prevent misconception as to the law itself. The law is not *sinful*, as some might be ready to infer from what had just been said, but it is holy, just, and good; although it is often made the occasion of sin by revealing evil passions and forbidding their indulgence. The law is *spiritual;* but the converted man, although approving of it and assenting to its spirituality with his better disposition, is frequently led into the commission of iniquity by the antagonist power of the flesh, and does what his enlightened will disapproves. Here the operation of the law on unrenewed and renewed humanity is described; the former in verses 7-14, the latter in the remainder of the chapter. The purport of the whole is to vindicate the law from the charge of sin, and to assert its true nature. In doing so the writer necessarily shews the relation it bears to human nature in every condition. *In all cases* it produces uneasiness, conflict, disquietude of mind. In

unrenewed human nature the opposing front presented by its prohibitions arouses the evil propensities, and becomes the occasion of aggravating human guilt. In the case of renewed human nature it brings out to view the heart's depravity, producing great grief on account of remaining corruption. It does not give peace to the mind, but rather creates anxiety. In the fifth chapter, the consequence of justification is shewn to be peace and joy in the development of a new life by union with Christ; but in the sixth and seventh is set forth the law's inability to develop such a life, or to impart the repose of conscience arising from salvation by faith alone (vii. 7-25). The apostle now returns to the leading idea which had been set forth in the commencement of the fifth chapter, and proceeds to specify the effects of justification by faith in contrast with the power of the law. The law produces conflict and uneasiness, stirring up feelings which it cannot satisfy or allay. On the contrary, peace and holiness are only obtained in living union with Christ. Condemnation is removed from the believer in Jesus by means of His Spirit; only the believer must not live after the flesh, but in accordance with the tendency of his spiritual nature. By the Holy Spirit the Christian is made conscious of his adoption, and participation of the everlasting inheritance provided by the Redeemer. This inheritance will far exceed all sufferings of the present life: all Christians long after it and hope for it; and while they cherish such hope with stedfastness, and prayer, and confidence in God, they cannot be brought to shame. Their heavenly Father has given them a pledge of all other blessings in His only-begotten Son, so that they have nothing to fear, because nothing shall be able to separate them from the love of God (viii. 1-39).

(*f*) ix. 1—xi. 36. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters may be regarded as an appendix or corollary to the preceding part of the letter. The apostle having demonstrated the necessity and described the plenitude of gospel salvation, might have now concluded his argument. But he has a strong affection for his countrymen who had so little share in the benefits of Christianity. Knowing that a religion which insists on faith in Jesus Christ as necessary to salvation had met with little acceptance on

the part of the Jews, who rejected it in the spirit of a proud exclusiveness, Paul expresses his deep sorrow on account of their unbelief, and offers an explanation of that divine arrangement in accordance with which the body of the Jewish nation was excluded from the Christian covenant. God's promise to the seed of Abraham had not been frustrated by the unbelief and rejection of the mass of the people, since it was not made to *all Israel*, but only to such as He had chosen to *be the true Israel.* Thus he had selected Isaac to the exclusion of Ishmael, and Jacob in preference to Esau. Nor is there injustice in the principle of selection. It is founded on God's absolute sovereignty over his creatures, in the righteous exercise of which he dispenses his mercy as he pleases, and not according to the conduct of men. There is no ground of objection to this doctrine because of the uncontrollable necessity imposed on the creature's actions, when Jehovah displays his grace towards some, as he had done to those who were truly called from among Jews and Gentiles; and his wrath towards others, as he had done towards the body of the Jewish nation (ix. 6-29).

It will be seen from this summary that Paul adduces illustrations of the principle of selection from the history of the patriarchs themselves; from Abraham's children; and even from Esau and Jacob, whose parentage, unlike that of Isaac and Ishmael, was the same on both sides. The general principle is then announced in all its latitude, viz. that God chooses as objects of spiritual mercy whomsoever he wills. Hence he is perfectly just in rejecting the great mass of the Jewish people, and in selecting the body of the Gentiles in their stead, especially as his promises were only intended for the spiritual children of Abraham.

Having justified the Divine Being in selecting some and rejecting others, according to His own good pleasure, the writer shews that the fact of Israel's rejection proceeded from their own unbelief. The Gentiles had obtained justification, while the Jews had not obtained it, because the latter, instead of seeking it by faith, relied on the works of the law, took offence at the cross of Christ, and rejected his atonement. In their zeal for *legal righteousness*, they despised *the righteousness of faith.* They could not exculpate themselves on the ground of not knowing

the gospel, or of being ignorant of the fact that if they proved unbelieving the Gentiles should be brought into covenant with God, for the Old Testament gave intelligible intimations of both (ix. 30—x. 21). After explaining and vindicating the divine procedure in rejecting the Jews and calling the Gentiles, Paul subjoins certain considerations calculated to soothe and console the minds of the Jewish converts. God has not entirely cast away His people, but He has graciously chosen a remnant to be partakers of salvation. The rest indeed are given up to their own obduracy, as had been predicted in the Old Testament prophecies; yet *even in their fall*, Jehovah had a purpose of mercy. So far from his design *terminating* in the nation's rejection, that very rejection was the occasion and means of conferring the privileges of the gospel on the Gentile world. And yet the Gentiles have no reason to cherish feelings of proud superiority in regard to the rejected Jews. After all the Gentiles shall be converted, all Israel shall also be saved. The writer concludes this part of his subject with an ascription of praise to God, whose perfection is unsearchable and His ways past finding out, and who disposes of all blessings according to His own will (xi. 1-36).

II. The admonitory or practical portion of the epistle follows the doctrinal. Here the precepts delivered are partly of a general nature, referring to the Christian life under all aspects, and partly based on the peculiar circumstances of the Roman church.

(*a*) xii. 1—xiii. 14. The apostle enjoins personal holiness, fidelity in the calling assigned to the Christian, humility, seriousness, love, placableness, subjection to the existing civil powers, esteem and affection towards all men. He reminds his readers that the day of the Lord is at hand, and that therefore they should exercise chastity, temperance, and all other virtues commanded in the gospel.

(*b*) xiv. 1—xv. 13. He now proceeds to another topic, viz. *mutual forbearance* with respect to the observance or neglect of certain acts of abstinence and of particular days.

(*c*) xv. 14-33. He justifies the boldness with which he had written to the Roman christians by his apostolic office, which leads him to speak of the large success attending his labours, the wide sphere in which his activity had been put forth, especially in

fields before unoccupied, and his long-projected journey to Rome after he should have visited Jerusalem. In anticipation of the dangers and obstacles with which that journey was beset, he requests the prayers of his readers on his behalf, and concludes with a benediction.

(*d*) xvi. 1-27. The sixteenth chapter contains a recommendation of Phebe the bearer of the letter, various salutations, a warning against certain persons who caused dissension, the benediction, and an ascription of praise to God.

From this analysis it will be seen, that the apostle proceeded in the body of the epistle according to a determinate plan. The leading sentiment is justification by faith, which he sets forth in its necessity, nature, and results. But while he wrote after a fixed method, it must not be supposed that he followed out that method by bringing it to bear on all the minute parts of the epistle, as though it had been logically elaborated or deliberately weighed in every particular. Such artificial disposition savours too much of rhetorical schools. Every sequence and turn of thought, every mode of expression or connecting particle need not be regarded as the result of studied purpose or of direct suggestion by the Spirit. We cannot attribute logical precision of that nature to the apostle. In writing the letter he has followed indeed a definite plan; but that plan is not carried out by subtle branches into all the minor details, as in a theological treatise. He was not left to the immediate suggestions of his own mind, or to the sudden promptings of his feelings. On the contrary, his method was clearly defined in distinct outline, and has been steadily pursued throughout. Still however there is the freedom of epistolary composition. Digressions occur; sudden interruptions of the leading course of thought by means of subordinate ideas occasionally appear; and there are various repetitions, shewing that he was not fettered by artificial rules in carrying out his general plan. *Extreme preciseness* on the one hand, and *extreme negligence* on the other, are alike wanting in the epistle. It is *systematic*, without being rigidly formal.

"The epistle to the Romans has the reputation of being the most difficult book in the New Testament; but, after all, the difficulty seems to be in many cases a difficulty in *receiving* the

doctrine of the apostle, rather than in understanding it. In enforcing the entire dependence of both Jew and Gentile upon the mere mercy of God for all hope of salvation, the writer has occasion to take very high ground in regard to the prerogatives exercised by Jehovah in the control of the modern world; and Christian philosophers of all ages, in marking the confines of divine power, in respect to the character and acts of free and accountable creatures, have been disposed to draw the lines differently from the apostle. In fact he draws no line at all. He surrenders the reins entirely into the hands of Jehovah, and invests him with a sovereignty that is complete and illimitable, tracing back *all things* to an origin in him; while the philosophers, on the other hand, deem it necessary that some acts should be allowed to *originate* in man. They cannot conceive of freedom and accountableness, without something like independence and contingency. The difficulty would seem to be, therefore, so far as this subject is concerned, not so much in understanding what the apostle would say, as in reconciling it with what men are apt to regard as incontrovertible principles of moral philosophy."[g]

[g] The New Testament with brief explanatory Notes, by J. and J. S. C. Abbott, pp. 326, 327.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE following topics will embrace all that is important and interesting relative to the First Epistle to the Corinthians:—

I. ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT CORINTH.
II. OCCASION OF WRITING TO IT.
III. HOW OFTEN THE APOSTLE HAD VISITED THE CITY BEFORE HE WROTE.
IV. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.
V. STATE OF THE CHURCH WHEN PAUL WROTE..
VI. GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIRST EPISTLE.
VII. CONTENTS.

I. *Origin of the church at Corinth.*

Corinth, as is well known, was situated on the isthmus between the Aegean and Ionian seas. It was the capital of Achaia, distinguished by the celebration of the Isthmian games in its vicinity, and equally noted for its arts, wealth, and luxury. Hence Cicero styled it "the light of Greece." About the year 146 B. C. it was destroyed by Mummius, the Roman general; but Julius Caesar caused it to be rebuilt and peopled with a Roman colony. Its favourable situation for commerce soon secured a flourishing trade. Hence it rapidly regained its former splendour, but in connexion with its former vice and licentiousness. The testimony of heathen writers is unanimous, not only with respect to the culture and learning of the inhabitants, but also their wealth, effeminacy, and impurity. The gross worship of Venus, who had a renowned temple in the place, furnished with a thousand impure priestesses, furnishes melancholy proof of debasement and degradation, notwithstanding the schools of learning and philosophers, on which, as Aristides, a rhetorician of the second cen-

[illegible] says, a person stumbled at every step.[a] Hence Dio Chrysostom[b] calls it a city τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγενημένων ἐπαφροδιτοτάτην, "the most licentious of all that are or have been;" so that the verb κορινθιάζειν was synonymous with *to be lewd.*[c]

This city, the centre of eastern and western commerce, was selected by the apostle Paul as the scene of his labours for a considerable period. The number and character of the inhabitants, added to the importance of its situation and the influx of so many strangers, made a permanent lodgment for Christianity within it highly desirable, that the truth might pervade neighbouring and distant nations. No station could have been selected more favourable to the diffusion of the new religion through the Roman empire. The circumstances belonging to it were such as none other city presented. Hence the great apostle chose it as the sphere of his unwearied activity for eighteen months. Here he laboured in company with several associates, amid the opulence, luxury, licentiousness, and learning of the idolatrous inhabitants. Nor were his efforts without success. He encountered indeed much opposition from the Jews, many of whom had settled in it for the purposes of traffic. Yet even among them, some chief persons believed, as Crispus and Sosthenes; though there is no reason for supposing that many such had become converts. The Christian church collected by Paul consisted chiefly of Gentiles belonging to the poorer class. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were called.

It was on his second missionary journey that the apostle first came from Athens to Corinth, where he remained eighteen months. Here he found Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who had lately come from Italy, because the emperor Claudius had expelled the Jews from Rome. The Romans did not at that time distinguish Christians from Jews; and therefore the former no less than the latter were included in the edict.[d] In Aquila's house Paul took up his abode, and wrought at the same manual em-

[a] Ithmica in Neptun.

[b] Orat. Corinth. Opp. vol. ii. p. 119, ed. Reiske.

[c] See Osiander's Commentar ueber den ersten Brief Pauli an die Corinthier, [illegible] Einleitung, § 1.

[d] See Suetonius's Life of Claudius, chap. 25.

ployment, both being tent-makers. It is not clear whether Aquila was converted to Christianity *at* Corinth, or *before his arrival thither*. The expression *τινὰ Ἰουδαῖον* in Acts xviii. 2 is not decisive, because it merely marks the nation to which he belonged. The probability is that he had been already converted at Rome along with his wife Priscilla. Still his Christian knowledge could not have been other than imperfect and limited. But by the closeness of relation in which he fortunately stood to Paul, it must have been greatly enlarged. In consequence of his association with the apostle, he became acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity so as to be able to instruct Apollos, explaining to him the way of God more perfectly.

According to custom, the apostle Paul addressed himself in the first instance to the Jews who had a synagogue in the city. Thither he repaired on the Sabbath-day and preached Christ. His discourses appear to have made a saving impression on the minds of several Jews and proselytes, especially Crispus, chief ruler of the synagogue, who believed in the Lord, with all his house. After Timothy and Silas had come to him from Macedonia, he become bolder, and testified more plainly that Jesus was the Christ. High offence was now taken to his doctrine by the unbelieving Jews, who contradicted and blasphemed. He therefore turned to the Gentiles, and ceased to frequent the synagogue. But the great success of his labours among the Gentile inhabitants exasperated the Jews so much, that they seized and dragged him before the tribunal of Gallio the Roman proconsul, accusing him of opposition to the law of Moses. The humane governor properly refused to interfere in ecclesiastical matters as beyond his province. Even after this insurrection, we are informed that the apostle remained *a good many days* (Acts xviii. 18), at the expiration of which he sailed to Syria, in company with Aquila and Priscilla, leaving perhaps his faithful assistants Timothy and Silas in Corinth, together with a numerous church, mainly composed of Gentile converts comparatively poor.

II. *Occasion of writing to Corinth.*

While the apostle was passing through Galatia and Phrygia, Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew, removed to Corinth, and contri-

buted mightily to the advancement of Christianity in that city. This eloquent preacher had been instructed in the gospel previously to his coming thither by Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 24 - 28).

Paul must have heard of the impurity which had appeared in the conduct of the members belonging to the Corinthian church, as well as of other irregularities, soon after his arrival at Ephesus the second time, from Galatia. Here therefore he wrote an epistle, now lost, warning the professing Christians against corrupt practices. The range of the letter seems to have been limited, and its contents of a general nature, in conformity with the general character of the information the writer had received. From 1 Cor. v. 9 - 12, we infer that in it he had told the believers at Corinth to have no fellowship with men of corrupt lives, an injunction which they misunderstood.

But during his stay in Ephesus he had opportunities of hearing about the state of the church at Corinth *more particularly*. The reports continued to be unfavourable. Thus he obtained intelligence from some members belonging to the household of Chloe (1 Cor. i. 11). Perhaps also Apollos, who appears to have removed his residence to Ephesus while the apostle abode there, gave him information respecting the distractions at Corinth. In consequence of these representations, Paul had resolved to take a journey through Macedonia and *Achaia* to Jerusalem, and sent into these parts Timothy and Erastus, both to forward the collection among the Gentile churches for the relief of the poor Hebrew christians at Jerusalem, and also to rectify the irregularities of the Corinthian church; when messengers arrived, viz. Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, bringing a letter concerning several doctrines and practices, and requesting a solution to various questions. By this means Paul obtained a knowledge of the contentions in the church, the viciousness of the members, and the great disorder into which it had fallen. Such was the occasion of writing the first letter, which was dictated perhaps to Sosthenes, and sent by the hands of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus. It was Paul's wish that Apollos should accompany the bearers, and use his endeavours to heal the distractions that had arisen;

but the latter decidedly refused, conscious perhaps that his presence might foment rather than allay dissension.

Some have thought that Timothy was the bearer of the letter. But this opinion appears to be incorrect. He is mentioned in 1 Cor. xvi. 10, and also in iv. 17, in such a way as intimates he was not the bearer, and that Paul did not expect him to arrive at Corinth till after the epistle had been received. Hence the words in the former passage, *ἐὰν ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος*. Timothy had been dispatched before the writing of the epistle; for, had he been with the apostle at that time, he would probably have been specified in the salutation at the commencement. His going into Macedonia might naturally lead the apostle to conclude that he would not arrive at Corinth till after the letter's reception.

It has been disputed whether Timothy actually visited Corinth, after collecting the contributions in Macedonia. It was certainly the apostle's intention that he should go to the city. But we know that he had returned *from his journey* during the writing of the second epistle to the Corinthians, and was then with Paul; for he is mentioned in the salutation. According to Bleek,[e] Timothy had been in Corinth; and on his return to Ephesus communicated important information relative to the church, to what he himself had done, and the effects of the letter already sent. He supposes that Timothy himself had been the bearer. It appears to us, however, that Timothy had been sent away previously to the first letter, and also that he was prevented from going to Corinth. In Acts xix. 22 he is said to have been dispatched into Macedonia, without any allusion to Achaia; and in the second epistle to the Corinthians no reference occurs to Timothy's visit, to the manner in which he had been received, or the information that had been communicated to the writer founded on his friend's personal observation. Hence it is more probable that Timothy, owing to some unknown circumstances, did not go as far as Corinth.[f]

[e] In the Studien und Kritiken, Heft 3.

[f] See Neander, Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. 4th ed. p. 433, et seq.

III. *How often the apostle had visited the city before he wrote.*

It has also been debated, whether the apostle visited the city *once* or *twice* before he wrote to the inhabitants. Let us examine this point. Did the apostle undertake a second journey to Corinth before writing to the church?

The question has been answered in the affirmative by Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Erasmus, Baronius, Mill, Tillemont, Schulz, Michaelis, Schmidt, Leun, Schrader, Koehler, Bleek, J. G. Müller, Lücke, Schott, Schneckenburger, Rückert, Neander, Anger, Billroth, Olshausen, Meyer, Wieseler, and Osiander. It is admitted that the Acts do not notice such a visit. A knowledge of it is derived from certain passages in the epistles to the Corinthians, such as 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2; xii. 14; ii. 1; xii. 21; and 1 Cor. xvi. 7. The first two are mainly relied on. The second two are only adduced by some advocates of the hypothesis. Very few writers mention the last with the same view.

Before proceeding to the separate examination of these texts, it may be desirable to state, that the supposed second visit could not have happened between the composition of the two extant epistles to the Corinthians, because the first was written near the close of the apostle's abode at Ephesus, and the second in his journey through Macedonia, probably at Philippi; a journey which he undertook after leaving Ephesus. The two visits must both have been antecedent to *the first* epistle addressed to the Corinthians.

2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2: "This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent, now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that if I come again, I will not spare." These words considered by themselves are sufficiently clear. They express the idea that the apostle purposed to pay a *third* visit.

2 Cor. xii. 14: "Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you: and I will not be burdensome to you; for I seek yours, not you," etc. Here τρίτον refers to ἐλθεῖν, as the connexion evinces.

2 Cor. ii. 1: "But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness." Paul had not come to them in sorrow, as we learn from Acts xviii. 1. Some subsequent

visit, therefore, of a sorrowful character must be alluded to. Neither can it be said that he was humbled, on the occasion of his first visit (xii. 21).

1 Cor. xvi. 7: "For I will not see you now by the way; but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit." These words seem to intimate that his future visit to the Corinthians would be of some continuance, as opposed to the *passing visit* he had previously paid. But when first at Corinth, he staid nearly two years; and therefore he must have been with them afterwards for a very short time, before these words were written.

Such are the passages that have been thought to imply a second visit previously to the composition of the first epistle. We shall now endeavour to shew, that *the last three* do not support the hypothesis; and afterwards, that even the first two when closely examined afford an insecure foundation on which to build it.

In regard to 2 Cor. ii. 1 it has been disputed, whether πάλιν belongs to ἐλθεῖν singly, or to ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν. The received reading πάλιν ἐλθεῖν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς favours the former; the more approved reading πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν harmonises better with the latter. It is a matter of little consequence whether the one or the other be adopted. Paul's coming again to them in sorrow is contrasted with his leaving them in sorrow. He could not have been with them so long without perceiving elements at work which threatened to disturb and rend the church. Hence arose his comparative regret.

2 Cor. xii. 21. Here it is undoubtedly more natural to join πάλιν with ἐλθόντα than with the verb ταπεινώσῃ. In this way no previous humiliation is alluded to. There is simply a reference to the possibility of his being humbled at the time of his coming again to the Corinthians. Admitting however that the adverb belongs to the verb ταπεινώσῃ, the passage will not prove a second visit to Corinth. The humiliation in question was that which he had felt at some part of his first stay, which lasted more than a year and a half. Every thing which he saw in the Corinthian church did not please him. He had no doubt perceived, oftener than once, cause for self-abasement and grief.

1 Cor. xvi. 7. These words do not imply that the apostle had really paid a passing visit to Corinth. The sense is: "I do not

wish to see you now, merely as I am passing on to some other place; I am rather hoping that I shall be able to spend some time with you." In the preceding verse he says: "*Perhaps* I shall continue with you, or even pass the winter at Corinth." In the present passage he expresses his *desire* and *intention* to abide with them a considerable period, though the accomplishment of his purpose was greatly dependent on external circumstances.

The passing visit may therefore be referred to the short period he *purposed* to spend among the Corinthians. On comparing 2 Cor. i. 15, 16, we learn that he had formerly purposed to go first to Corinth, then to Macedonia, and then to return to Corinth; but it appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 5, that his determination had been changed. To this short period, which, if his purpose had been carried out he would have spent with them, he opposes his present intended visit of some length (1 Cor. xvi. 7). The adverb ἄρτι belongs to ἰδεῖν, not to θέλω, as Meyer rightly observes.

2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. We explain the first verse of this passage by the aid of 2 Cor. xii. 14. "This is the third time I am coming to you," *i. e.* this is the third time I am *ready* or *prepared* to come. The τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι of the one passage is explained by the τρίτον ἑτοίμως ἔχω of the other. If the journey in which he had been disappointed were reckoned one of the times, the present would be *the third time* at which *he was ready* to come, although he had been at Corinth actually but once. It cannot well be denied that ἔρχομαι may signify, I *am purposing* or *prepared to come;* a sense which the parallel (xii. 14) certainly favours. Wieseler[g] indeed affirms, that to explain the present tense ἔρχομαι in this manner is to become sceptical of all grammar; but his hasty statement is refuted by that of Krüger, a Greek scholar whose opinion few will venture to oppose in a question of this nature. The present tense, says the grammarian, sometimes denotes a future transaction *which at the present time is already prepared* or introduced.[h] It is added: "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established," *i. e.* every threatening word will be fulfilled as surely as what is supported by two or three witnesses is true. The second verse

[g] Chronologie, u. s. w. p. 234.

[h] Griechische Sprachlehre, pp. 148, 149, erster Theil.

of the passage has been differently punctuated by different interpreters. But all agree that γράφω should be expunged. Bleek and Schrader divide the words thus:—προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν, τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι καὶ τοῖς, κ. τ. λ.; and the following explanation of them is given:—"I have told you before, when I was present with you a second time, and foretell as I did when present the second time, though now absent, to those who had sinned and to all the rest, that if I come again I will not spare." The τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι is referred to προείρηκα; the τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν to προλέγω—those who had sinned at the time of his second visit—all others who had since sinned.

The interpunction in question does not necessarily lead to the interpretation proposed. The context implies that Paul had seen several things in the Corinthian church during his last residence among them with which he had not been pleased—that some persons had fallen into sin, and that he had been sparing in his rebukes, not proceeding to extremities, but threatening that he would not spare at the time of his next coming, unless certain vices were remedied. The verb προείρηκα need not be referred exclusively or chiefly to the apostle's last visit to Corinth. Some particulars in this very letter intimate that the word in question relates to these indirect reproofs more than to what had been uttered by word of mouth. Perhaps there is special allusion to 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21; or if the reference be to the *first* epistle, as some suppose, then will 1 Cor. x. 2 be mainly intended. The clause ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, which immediately belongs to προλέγω, seems to favour the opinion that the writer had been once only at Corinth. The preposition of the compound verb προλέγω, and the ὡς prefixed to παρών indicate, if we are not mistaken, that Paul had not been with his readers a second time. *He tells beforehand as if* he were present the second time; such is his language; instead of, "I tell you *again*, what I stated already, when with you the second time." In the construction of the sentence, the words τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν should be joined to προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω. The particle ὡς should be rendered *as if*, not *as*. It has the same signification in 1 Cor. v. 3. It is too artificial to refer, as Olshausen does, the

phrase ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον to προείρηκα alone, or to προλέγω alone. It belongs to both verbs. It is also too artificial to refer προημαρτηκόσι to προείρηκα alone, and τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι to προλέγω alone. Both clauses belong equally to both verbs.

Griesbach puts ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν in a parenthesis. This mode of division is neither favourable nor otherwise to the hypothesis of Bleek. The parenthesis should probably be removed, as the later editors have done with it. Both Lachmann and Tischendorf expunge it.

But it is said, that the context of 2 Cor. xii. 14 suggests a different acceptation of the present passage, and sanctions the idea of a second visit as past. In the thirteenth verse the apostle writes: "For what is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? forgive me this wrong." Here keen irony is strongly expressed. The writer declares that he had not been burdensome to the Corinthians when he was with them before. In the fourteenth verse he subjoins, "And I will not be burdensome to you," *i. e.* at my next visit. Now it is said, that there is a want of appropriateness attaching to the statement of his determination to go twice to the Corinthians. Whether he had resolved to go once or twice was of no moment. But if we suppose that *he had really been twice* at Corinth, the argumentation is thought to be apposite. The greater the number of his visits, during which he had received no maintenance from the people, the severer his irony. It would have been superfluous to state *how often* he had purposed to be among them, while it is quite consistent to mention *all* the visits on the supposition that his intention of visiting the city had not been frustrated, but that *he had been twice there.*

This reasoning is plausible, but not perhaps so weighty or conclusive as has been assumed. The apostle, in speaking of his visits to the Corinthians, usually mentions his purposed visit; for though he was disappointed in paying it, it should be reckoned as great a proof of his interest in their welfare as if it had been really made. He speaks of *it* and of his first actual visit together, as an evidence of his affection for them and of zeal for their true benefit. His connecting of the two shews that he *would have* taken no support from the Corinthians the second

time any more than the first, and therefore the expression *οὐ καταναρκήσω* is equally applicable to both:—"I will not be burdensome to you any more than I was on my first visit, or *would have been* on my second." In this manner we perceive the appropriateness of mentioning his previously intended second visit along with the first which he really paid; and the context is consistent with the supposition of but one visit. Hence *τρίτον* must be connected with *ἑτοίμως ἔχω*, and not with *ἐλθεῖν* as the adherents of Bleek's hypothesis maintain.

The words of 2 Cor. i. 15, 16 present a serious obstacle to the hypothesis of a second visit:—"And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way towards Judea." Why should the apostle not speak *uniformly* and *consistently* in relation to the same subject? If his language presupposes two visits to Corinth, why should he speak of *one* benefit conferred by his personal presence during these *two visits?* Why not mention *two benefits*, and so have *τρίτην χάριν* in the fifteenth verse.

Bleek, after Chrysostom, takes *χάρις* to be the same as *χαρὰ*, and *δεύτερος* as equivalent to *διπλοῦς*, according to which the sense is, "That ye might have a twofold joy," *i. e.* the joy of seeing Paul twice; first on his way to Macedonia, then again on his return, as we learn from the sixteenth verse. But *χάρις* is not equivalent to *χαρά*; neither can *δεύτερος* be taken for *διπλοῦς*. The *usus loquendi* of the Greek language will not permit this. It is easy to see, that the proposed interpretation sets aside the passage as evidence either for *one* previous visit paid by Paul to Corinth, or for *two* previous *visits*, so reducing it to neutrality; but the exegesis is unnatural and arbitrary.

It will be observed, that the words *ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε* succeed *ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον*, and *precede* the sixteenth verse, by which they are partly explained. Hence they should be brought into harmony with the *preceding* context. It is improbable that the phrase *δευτέραν χάριν* should not be understood till after the sixteenth verse. It manifestly alludes to the apostle's *first* presence at Corinth, when he planted the

church in that city. In speaking of the journey which he had purposed, but was prevented from taking, he speaks of his conferring a *second* benefit; whereas had he been twice present, he would naturally have spoken of a *third*. When he first abode among the Corinthians for nearly two years, he had given them a first benefit; and the journey by which he had intended to bestow a second benefit had not been made when he wrote the second letter. This is the obvious sense of the passage; and it is contradictory to the interpretations assigned to 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2 and xii. 14, by such critics as assume that Paul had been twice at Corinth before writing his epistles to the church in that place.

Many continental writers, rejecting Bleek's mode of reconciling 2 Cor. i. 15, 16 with their favourite hypothesis, divide the year and a half during which Paul was at Corinth into two parts, supposing that he took a short excursion during it into the neighbouring parts. In this way he may be said to have gone twice to Corinth, and so promises, in his second epistle, that he should go a *third* time. The apostle speaks however of a *second* benefit, because, during the greater portion of the year and a half he had taught at Corinth. Such is the view of Baronius, Michaelis, Schulz, Leun, Schmidt, Schott, Anger, and others. But it seems to us unsatisfactory, because it makes the apostle speak inconsistently. At one time he mentions a *third* coming, or a *purpose* of coming a *third* time; whereas, according to this interpretation, he speaks of *a second* coming as *a second* benefit. Surely this is not consistent in reference to *the same* visit.

The visit in question, *i. e. the second*, is assumed to be one of an unpleasant nature. Is it not strange then that he never alludes in the first epistle to the admonitions and warnings which he had employed on that occasion. He must have acted as a reformer of abuses. He must have spoken much of the disorder and dissensions he witnessed. And yet there is no reference to such conduct on his part, when he was last with the Corinthians. We say nothing of the difficulty which has been felt in finding a suitable place for inserting this second visit in the narrative of the Acts; nor of the arbitrary supposition that Luke did not speak of it because he was ignorant of its existence. At whatever place it is inserted, whether at Acts xviii. 1-17,

during his second sojourn at Corinth for the space of a year and a half, in which he is supposed to have made an excursion into the neighbouring parts and returned to the city, as Baronius, Anger, Schott, and others think; or at Acts xviii. 18—xix. 1, in the interval between his first and second visit to Ephesus, as Neander conjectures; or at Acts xix., during his abode at Ephesus of nearly three years' continuance, as Schrader, Rückert, Neudecker, Billroth, Olshausen, Meyer, and Wieseler imagine; or finally in the three months' stay in Hellas (Acts xx. 2, 3), as Koehler supposes;—at whatever place it is inserted, it must have the appearance of being *forcibly* put into the text of Acts; although we readily allow that Luke omits various particulars which we learn from the epistles alone.[k]

Thus the passages on which a second visit has been based, do not appear to prove its existence. They *do* however suggest one thing, viz. that the apostle had discovered during his long residence at Corinth, symptoms of ominous tendency, which awakened a deep solicitude in his mind. This fact shaded with melancholy his departure from the church.

IV. *Time and place of writing.*

These may be easily inferred from the observations already made. The epistle was written at Ephesus, when Paul was there the second and last time, towards the close of his visit, not long before Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8, 19). He had sent away Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22. 1 Cor. iv. 17), and resolved to go himself into Achaia and thence to Jerusalem (Acts xix. 21. 1 Cor. xvi. 3, etc.). Hence it was written A.D. 57.

The subscription to the epistle erroneously states, that it was written from Philippi. Perhaps the origin of this may be traced to an erroneous explanation of the words in 1 Cor. xvi. 5, *Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι*, which do not mean that he was then passing through Macedonia, but state *his firm determination* to pass through it. The Cod. Vat. B., and many junior MSS. after it, have the correct subscription, *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου*.

It is useless to refer to the untenable hypotheses of Koehler

[k] See Schleiermacher's Einleitung ins Neue Testament, p. 155.

and Böttger, the former of whom thinks that both the Corinthian epistles were written A.D. 64, after the apostle had been liberated from his imprisonment at Rome; and the latter, that the first epistle was written in Southern Achaia, on a journey made by the apostle from Ephesus through Achaia to Macedonia, at a point of time before Acts xx. 1.

An allusion to the time of the year in which the epistle was written has been discovered by most interpreters in v. 6-8: "Know ye not, that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." The metaphorical expressions here introduced are supposed to have been directly suggested by the near approach of the passover, when leaven was prohibited among the Jews. It will be observed, that the apostle commences with a proverbial expression, meaning that the smallest taint of sin had a powerful tendency to spread through and pervade the whole mass. On this account the Corinthian christians should put away from among them the old leaven of sin that they might be a holy community, as they were required to be pure; for even Christ the true passover lamb had been offered for them, and therefore they were holy or unleavened, just as the Jews, who were about to keep their passover and abstain from the use of leaven. It is added, "Therefore let us keep the true passover without sin." Here some make the allusion to the Jewish passover then at hand to begin with the adjective ἄζυμοι, as does Rosenmüller, after Grotius, explaining it, "As ye are required to abstain from leaven." But this is incorrect, because the Corinthians were for the most part Gentile christians. Others, with greater plausibility, think that the reference to the passover begins with καὶ γάρ, κ. τ. λ., "For even Christ our passover is sacrificed," etc., and is especially found in ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν, "Therefore let us keep the feast," which, says Greswell,[1] could not have been said with propriety

[1] Dissertations, vol. iv. p. 163.

unless the feast had been still to come. But in the words, "For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven," etc., the spiritual or Christian sense is far more prominent than any allusion or literal reference to the Jewish passover. Nor is it at all necessary to suppose that the words were immediately suggested by the near approach of Easter. The metaphorical language is introduced by a proverb, and is continued. All that can be asserted is, that the proverb *may have been suggested* by the approach of the passover. But the entire passage can be explained fully and satisfactorily without any allusion to an approaching festival, the sacrifice of Christ being here represented as a passover, to complete the figure. Hug[m] indeed has taken great pains to prove, that the passage is unintelligible if it do not refer to the passover as the time of writing, but his remarks are singularly inconclusive.

V. *State of the church when Paul wrote.*

A church gathered from among the inhabitants of Corinth may be supposed to have contained elements demanding special care and culture. Surrounded by prevailing immorality and licentiousness, it was difficult to preserve that purity which true Christianity requires. Established amid excessive corruption, the society soon fell into disorder. The seeds of former vice had not been wholly eradicated from the hearts of the converts. Former habits had left a lingering influence which it was very difficult fully to subdue. The piety of the believers was of a less steady and consistent character than it would probably have been, had their state been different before conversion. The depravity in which they lived and moved at one time, exerted a considerable power over their conduct, even after regeneration. In consequence of the prevailing degeneracy of their city, they were in greater danger of relapsing into the practices from which they had been saved. Rescued from abounding vice, they found it exceedingly difficult to maintain a high standard of moral excellence, because of the corrupt atmosphere in which their spiritual

[m] Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 312, 313.

breath was drawn. Thus it has always been. Christianity does not at once and entirely deliver the soul from the sinful excesses in which that soul has indulged. It lays indeed the axe to the root of the tree; but repeated strokes are necessary to prostrate the deep-rooted plant, which has grown up large and luxuriant. There is no magic in regeneration. It does not act in the way of a sudden spell. The power of divine grace employed in effecting that great change, acts in accordance with the laws of our moral nature. The process is not perfected at once. Continued efforts on the part of man and the continued effusion of divine influence are necessary to carry forward and consummate the life begun. There is *progress* in virtue and holiness. We need not therefore be surprised, that the Corinthian church should have exhibited various disorders after Paul's departure. The irregularities that began to prevail may be accounted for in a great degree by the previous lives of the members, and the extraordinary wickedness of the inhabitants generally. Some, unable to resist seductive temptations, relapsed into excesses similar to those which were too common in the world around; one had even taken his step-mother as a concubine to his home; others declined in holiness; while the majority manifested a spirit of dissension arising out of personal preferences for individuals. The gifts which many possessed were abused and made a ground for ostentation. Humility disappeared in consequence. The members were puffed up one against another. In the midst of these disagreeable circumstances the church wrote to their founder, informing him of their condition, and requesting his opinion on several points. The apostle had also heard from other quarters of the prevailing improprieties, and we may well imagine the great solicitude which such intelligence must have stirred up within him.

1. In regard to *the parties* by which the church was distracted, it is impossible to arrive at *certain* and *satisfactory* conclusions. Where there is so much uncertainty, there are numerous hypotheses. Nor is it matter of surprise that the topic should have given rise to speculation, when the data furnished by the two epistles for determining the nature and number of the parties, are so slight and fragile. It is sufficiently clear that there were such parties, ranged under different leaders, whose names were

employed as symbols of peculiar views; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain and develop the position in which they stood to one another, and the characteristics that marked them out in their associated relations. The epistles indeed contain little more than *an indication* of their existence. Their number and tendencies are obscure. Hence arises the danger of constructing hypotheses respecting them, not out of materials furnished by revelation, but from our own conceptions. There has been a manifest desire of knowing far more concerning them than what is written; of supplying, by the aid of ingenuity, what the apostle has omitted to record. And yet it is impossible to do justice to the theme, without *endeavouring* at least to present something definite in relation to it. But probable conjecture must necessarily be summoned to aid the inquiry. To arrive at certainty is a result which cannot be expected. None need hope to be able to construct such an account as will be tolerably satisfactory without the assistance of slight presumptions, or minute probabilities. Where the historical circumstances are so few, it becomes needful to carry out their intimations, as far as they will consistently allow. Perhaps hypotheses of too subtle and arbitrary a nature have been already framed in connexion with the Corinthian letters. The peculiar complexion of many minds when turned towards a topic of this kind, may easily lead them beyond the limit of safe speculation into the region of pure theorising. The tendency of the German mind in particular, may have originated various accounts of the parties in the Corinthian church more full, and therefore more fanciful, than most should be inclined to allow. Still however the Germans have done good service in this department. They have explored it with wondrous diligence. Instead of shrinking from the tenuous difficulties with which it is beset, they have dived into the region of its shadowy dimness, with all the searching subtleties of which they are pre-eminent masters. But it is likely they have gone too far. In their intense eagerness to learn much, they have developed much of the fanciful. It is possible to be wise above what is written. *Such* wisdom is available for no practical or useful purpose.

Four parties in the Corinthian church appear to be mentioned

in 1 Cor. i. 12:—"Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." It has been supposed too that notices of them more or less distinct are contained in iii. 4, 22; and in 2 Cor. x. 7.

According to the hypothesis of Eichhorn,[n] which is the same in substance with Chrysostom's opinion in ancient times, and that of Räbiger[o] quite recently, assuming but three parties, the Christ-party consisted of the *neutrals*—those who ranged themselves under no human leader, but adhered to the simple doctrine of Christ, following him alone as their master. Pott[p] and Schott[q] adopt the same view. In this way, a world of inquiry is saved. Those simple-minded Christians who remained steadfast in their attachment to the apostolic doctrine, looking to the great personage from whom it proceeded through the instrumentality of human agents, stand apart, according to the present interpretation, from the less pure members of the Corinthian church. It is natural that some should thus take a favourable view of the Christ-party. Doubts relative to the existence of a distinct party calling themselves *the adherents of Christ* in a bigoted and exclusive spirit readily suggest themselves to the mind. The apostle certainly mentions the others in the way of censure. But is it not possible that the expression *οἱ Χριστοῦ* might simply denote those who followed Christ alone and his doctrine as taught by Paul, acknowledging no other master, and keeping at a distance from party contentions? The terms will bear such an interpretation. And it may be supposed that the apostle mentions them with the rest, because he could not clearly explain the different factions which had arisen, unless in such a way as to state that some preferred one teacher, others a different one; while others called themselves merely the followers of Christ. According to this view, the passage exhibits an historical enumeration of the different parties in the church, without implying that all who are characterised in it incurred the apostle's censure. But this inter-

[n] Einleit. in das Neue Testament, vol. iii. p. 107.

[o] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber den Inhalt der beiden Brieff. an d. Corinther, p. 37, et seq.

[p] Commentar in Cap. I. pp. 31 - 34.

[q] Isagoge, p. 233.

pretation is untenable. The others mentioned in the verse are noticed in the way of disapproval; and since the Christ-party is classed along with them, it must be involved in the general condemnation. The subsequent words, "Is Christ divided?" refer equally to all the preceding parties. They allude to the Christ-party as well as the rest, as if it were also guilty of attempting to divide Christ. The individuals composing it could not have been thus culpable had they assumed the title in a good sense. Hence they must have claimed the appellation for themselves in a narrow and selfish spirit, as though they alone belonged to the Saviour. The form of the expression, *μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός* (i. 13), derived, as is most probable, from *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ* (i. 12), leads to the conclusion that *all* the preceding factions were exposed to the charge of rending Christ asunder. But if the view of Pott be correct, the persons calling themselves *οἱ Χριστοῦ* must have met with the approbation of Paul; nor would he have failed to state his approval even of a few, while censuring the many. The apostle was by no means prone to find fault. He spared the Corinthians as long as he could; and was careful to speak favourably of those who had continued steadfast in the pure faith, as he had instructed them. As to 1 Cor. iii. 21 - 23, on which Pott chiefly relies, there is no reason for believing that the *Christ-party* is mentioned or alluded to in the passage. The writer speaks there of *Christians*. In this way we have no hesitation in rejecting the view before us, which virtually reduces the number of the parties in the church to *three*, the Christ-party being regarded as the normal portion of the church which stood aloof from all contentions. Though advocated by several of the fathers in ancient times, and by Estius, Calvin, with the respectable names already mentioned, in more recent, the passage in i. 12 with its context is exegetically adverse.

Another hypothesis was proposed by Storr,[r] according to which the Christ-party took for their leader James, our Lord's brother (Gal. i. 19). In support of it, such passages as 1 Cor. ix. 5, xv. 7, 2 Cor. v. 16 are quoted. But it is easy to perceive that they afford no countenance to the view. It is true that the brethren

[r] Opuscula Academica, vol. ii. p. 246, et seq.

of the Lord and James are mentioned in them, *but not as leaders of a party in the church.* The expression, *to know Christ after the flesh* (2 Cor. v. 16), does not denote *family relationship*, but *to attach worldly and carnal ideas to the person and mission of Christ.* Besides, it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the Christ-party being named after Christ, instead of James their head; and κύριος should have been used in that case, not Χριστός; —ἐγὼ εἰμι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου, or οἱ κυρίου in an abridged form, would have been the distinguishing appellation. In this case too, the party of James would have been identical with that of Peter, both consisting of Jewish christians. Bertholdt[s] slightly modifies the hypothesis by supposing that this party took for their head *several brethren* of the Lord, not James alone; but there is no probability in this conjecture. The entire hypothesis must be rejected, though it has been adopted by Hug,[t] Heydenreich,[u] and others.

Another hypothesis is that of Baur,[x] whom Billroth[y] follows. It is substantially the same as that of Schmidt, whom the Tübingen theologian pretty closely follows in developing it. But the former writer endeavoured very unsuccessfully to establish it by means of a passage in the second epistle to the Corinthians, viz. x. 7; while the latter has employed so much ingenuity in illustrating and explaining it after his own peculiar fashion, as to have impelled a host of minds quite recently to explore it. To him belongs the merit of giving it a new face of freshness both striking and attractive. Hence it may be denominated with good reason the hypothesis of Baur. According to it, there were properly but two parties in the church, *the Pauline* and *the Petrine.* The latter and the Christ-party were substantially the same, though they adopted different names. They were Jewish christians, whose object was to undermine the apostle Paul by impugning his apostolic authority, and so to engraft Judaism on

[s] Einleit. p. 3319, et seq.

[t] Einleit. in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, 4th ed. vol. ii. p. 308.

[u] Commentarius in priorem D. Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam, vol. i. p. 31.

[x] In the Tübingen Zeitschrift for the year 1831, and in his late work styled, Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, u. s. w. pp. 261 - 332.

[y] Commentary on the Corinthians, translated in the Edinb. Bib. Cabinet.

Christianity. They called themselves *οἱ Κηφᾶ*, because Peter was the chief of the apostles. But in order to shew that they were also intimately connected with Christ through their teachers, they assumed the name *οἱ Χριστοῦ*, indicating that they were the followers of Christ's genuine apostles, and consequently that they alone were possessed of the genuine gospel. In this way they cast indirect reproach on Paul, as if he was not a true apostle because he was not called in the same manner and at the same time as the others; and also on his adherents, as if they were not the true followers of Christ, because they attached themselves to one who was not only not a genuine apostle, but even corrupted the gospel by views of his own. They singled themselves out from all other members of the Corinthian church, as though they alone were *Christians*, in the proper sense of the term. They alone were converted by genuine apostles selected by Christ himself. Thus the Cephas-party and the Christ-party were identical; although the state of affairs at Corinth caused the Judaisers to keep their legal notions and practices in the back-ground, and to set forth that aspect of them which combated Paul's authority. But if, as Baur believes, they had not gone so far as to broach their Judaising opinions plainly, if they subordinated their legalising tendencies to the work of undermining Paul's apostleship, that they might promote their ultimate object the more effectually, we ask, What was the use of the two appellations? Would not the one have been sufficient? Would not the title *οἱ Κηφᾶ* have been superfluous in that case, not to say injurious to their chief design? For if an *immediate* introduction of their Jewish principles would have probably defeated their object, and therefore they proceeded more cautiously, might not the appellation *Cephas-party* have prematurely betrayed their leading purpose in impugning the apostolic authority of Paul? Besides, as Neander remarks, "by the position of the phrase *οἱ Χριστοῦ*, we are led to expect the designation of a party in some way differing from the Petrine, though belonging to the same general division; but, according to this view, the Christ-party would differ from the Petrine only in name, which would be quite contradictory to the relation of this party-name to those which preceded it. Accordingly, this view can only be tenable, if not merely a formal

but a material difference can be found between the last two parties."[z]

But the hypothesis is liable to other objections. If it be correct, it is strange that the first epistle should contain no arguments against the Cephas-party. In it the writer does not defend his apostleship. He mentions the divisions in the church in such a manner as to censure them, and treats copiously of the various questions which the Corinthians had submitted to him in a letter; but he does not combat the party opposed to himself who must chiefly have given rise to the disorders by which the church was weakened. There is something so unaccountable in this omission as to suggest strong doubts of the correctness of the hypothesis in question. Paul's usual mode of combating error was to seize it by the roots, to supplant its foundation, and not merely to lop off a few of its externalities. If then his opponents in the Corinthian church, who, as secret Judaisers, sought to represent him in the light of a spurious apostle, had caused the agitations within the church, as is most probable, why does he not directly combat them and defend his apostolic authority. It is improbable that all the errors and disorders which the apostle condemns throughout the epistle had no connexion with the contention of the parties mentioned in chapter i. 12. If some of them at least stood in close relationship to such factions, as we must believe, it is unaccountable that Paul should not combat the hostile party who employed themselves in the unhallowed work of subverting his true apostleship. Baur himself appeals to no passage in the first epistle except to ix. 1, where Paul says of himself, "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord," in opposition to those who asserted he had not seen him. The proofs of it are derived from the second epistle to the Corinthians, particularly iii. 16; x. 7, 11, 13; xii. 2. It is unnecessary to examine the peculiar interpretations assigned to these passages, or the peculiar views against which Baur thinks they were directed, since even Billroth acknowledges that, with one exception, they do not decidedly favour what they are adduced to support. They have nothing

[z] Planting and Training of the Christian Church, translated by Ryland, vol. i. p. 275; or the original in the 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 386, 387.

more than *the appearance* of countenancing it; and that too not to a common reader, but after they have been set forth in the ingenious light which the framer of the hypothesis himself has thrown around them. The only passage which Billroth thinks decidedly favourable is 2 Cor. x. 7, etc., where he affirms the Christ-party is manifestly intended; but even if it be alluded to in the words, and a comparison of them with xi. 12 be instituted, the conclusion that they were *Jewish* errorists cannot be made out.

Billroth has attempted to modify slightly Baur's view (in relation to the Christ-party), by drawing a kind of distinction between the Petrine and Christ-parties. "Perhaps," says he, "they had assumed the title *Χριστοῦ* at first, in their presumptuous pride. Those of their followers who came nearest to them, and who were most assuming, probably took the same appellation; while others contented themselves with the name *Κηφᾶ* after them (in a manner analogous to the parties of Paul and Apollos), having no other object in so doing than the desire of having for their voucher one who had been really, and by actual personal intercourse with Christ, constituted an apostle. We thus arrive at a distinction (though not a very important one) between the Petrine and the Christ-party, to the necessity of which Neander very carefully draws the attention of his readers, and the omission of which he justly regards as a defect in the theory of Baur. The same individuals did not call themselves at one time of Cephas, and at another of Christ; but each one of those who had been led astray by the false teachers, in speaking of his party applied to it that name which best suited his own views. It thus appears that the Petrine division of this party, or that of Peter strictly so called, was the better disposed of the two."[a] It is easy to see that all this is pure conjecture; and that the objections already urged against the hypothesis are not removed. Indeed it remains *essentially* the same, notwithstanding the modification introduced into it.

The most plausible circumstance in favour of this view is *the position* in which the *οἱ Χριστοῦ* are named, whence it might be

[a] English Translation, vol. i. Introduction, p. 15.

inferred that they bore the same relation to the Petrine, as the Apollos-party to the Pauline. In this manner, there would be no material difference between the last two parties, just as there is no essential distinction between the first two. But the mere connexion of members in the sentence must not be pressed, in opposition to stronger considerations. If the Judaisers formed but one party, it is improbable that they assumed more than one name. Besides, the apostle was not intent on the nice adjustment of clauses, such as a logician might be solicitous to present. "Paul does not," says Neander, "as in other cases, form the members of the antithesis merely from the thoughts; but the manner in which he selected his terms was determined by matters of fact."[b]

Becker[c] supposes that the Petrine party consisted of strangers who came to Corinth, and who, on setting up as preachers of the gospel, claimed support from the community, which was refused. Their adherents in the Corinthian church became the Christ-party. There are many considerations adverse to such an hypothesis, which it is unnecessary to mention.[d]

According to Neander, the germ of whose hypothesis is found in Beza, Calixtus, and Bengel, the Christ-party consisted of philosophical Christians who constructed for themselves a peculiar form of Christian doctrine modelled according to their Grecian subjectivity. They belonged probably to the class of the wisdom-seeking Greeks. These persons professed to adhere to Christ alone, yet with an arrogant self-will which set aside all human instrumentality ordained by God. Olshausen[e] holds the same opinion, but states it more strongly, asserting even that the first epistle was wholly directed against the Christ-party, in whom the essence of the Greek philosophy was concentrated. He has carried it to such an extent as to make it appear very improbable.

But the number of philosophic Christians must have been very small—too small to form such a party. Neander himself admits that the fourth party may have been the least important in num-

[b] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 388.

[c] Die Parteiungen in der Gemeinde zu Korinth. p. 54, et seq.

[d] See Osiander, Einleit. p. 26, et seq.

[e] Commentar ueber die Briefe an die Korinthier, p. 451, et seq.

bers and influence.[f] There is nothing to warrant the idea that the gospel had made converts of many cultivated heathen at Corinth. The wise and the noble had not obeyed its call. The apostle presented it to them in its naked simplicity, so that it was ill-adapted to arrest the attention of those who boasted of their wisdom.[g] It was even calculated to repel the wisdom-seeking Greeks in Corinth.

That the first epistle has a polemic reference throughout to the Christ-party, is an assertion not accordant with the character of it. On the contrary, it has little of a polemic tone. The greater part of it is *didactic*, and occupied with topics about which the writer had been consulted—topics that appear, in part at least, to have been unconnected with the different parties in the church.

The hypothesis of Schenkel,[h] which De Wette adopts, is more plausible than any yet proposed, although it is constructed in part of arbitrary assumptions, and is made to embrace too many particulars. Hence several of Neander's objections to it are not without weight. But others are irrelevant or feeble. According to it, the distinguishing peculiarity of those calling themselves the adherents of Christ was *mysticism*. They appealed to an inward revelation, as Paul appealed to the immediate revelation of Christ to himself; and thus placing themselves on the same level, they assailed his apostolic authority. Such a tendency was highly pernicious, inasmuch as it would soon lead the advocates of it to set aside the reality of Christ's person and work, by substituting an *ideal* person. The *historical* would be forced to give place to *the ideal* Christ; the *objective* merging into the *subjective*.

We need not refer particularly to the views of Goldhorn and Daehne, which coincide in the essential part with that of Schenkel, though in some respects they differ from the latter. Nor is Kniewel's view substantially dissimilar, while they all touch upon Neander's opinion in a few particulars, though the historian decidedly objects to *the main element* in Schenkel's.

In taking a survey of the parties belonging to the Corinthian

[f] See his kleine Gelegenheitsschriften, 3rd ed. p. 97.

[g] See Osiander, Einleit. pp. 22, 23.

[h] De Ecclesia Corinthi primaeva factionibus turbata. Basiliae, 8vo. 1838.

church, the thought will occur perhaps to the careful reader of the two epistles, that there is little real ground for believing them to have been so definite or distinctly marked as most German writers suppose. There is not sufficient reason for concluding that they were *well-defined factions*, with wide boundary lines of doctrine dividing them the one from the other. That there were broad marks of separation between them can scarcely be made out from the epistles themselves. It cannot be shewn that they were so peculiarly divided by *doctrinal features* as has been assumed. That there were distinctions between them in a theological view may be allowed; but that these theological peculiarities were so great as *to characterise* the parties, is a questionable position. Who can tell how far *personal* attachments and antipathies may have influenced the divisions in question? Who shall affirm how much human passions and prejudices had to do with these unhappy dissensions? Perhaps the latter causes were equally active with the former. In the many attempts which have been made to ascertain the principal features that distinguished the Christ-party, the attention has been directed too much to *doctrinal belief*. Other considerations have not been sufficiently brought forward. An excess of importance has been attached to *the tenets* they are supposed to have held.

After all the investigations which have been instituted, and the various hypotheses which have been framed in regard to the Christ-party, their sentiments will always be obscure. They may have entertained dangerous notions. On the contrary, they may have indulged in speculations comparatively innocuous. Most of their opinions respecting the nature of Christianity may have been curious and unprofitable; or they may have been detrimental to the truth of that holy religion. It is impossible to affirm with confidence one or other of these opposite views. Various errors in doctrine and practice are combated in the epistles; but there is great difficulty in assigning such aberrations to one individual party rather than another. There are no good data on which the inquirer can proceed in apportioning the incorrect opinions condemned by the apostle to their proper advocates. Some of them may have been entertained by more than one of the parties; while it is possible that others were peculiar to a

single faction. They may have belonged to a very few persons who endeavoured to propagate them in the church; or they may have infected the minds of the majority. The subject is fitted, from its very nature, to give rise to innumerable inquiries; but the means of arriving at a satisfactory result are scarcely at our disposal. One hypothesis may be framed after another with a degree of plausibility; while no real light is thrown on the state of the church at the time when the apostle wrote. The epistles themselves scarcely warrant a definite conclusion. The hints they afford are too ambiguous to form the groundwork of a well-adjusted theory. They merely *excite* inquiry without leading it onward to a legitimate termination. Curiosity is awakened, and again painfully repressed.

It is natural to suppose that such of the Corinthians as had been converted by Paul were most attached to *his* person. They asserted his apostolic authority, and insisted on his pre-eminence. On the other hand, such as had been converted by Apollos looked up to *him* as *their* apostle with like reverence. The idea that the doctrinal sentiments of the Pauline and Apollos christians really differed cannot be entertained, since Paul and Apollos preached the same doctrine. The one had planted, the other had watered the church. The Pauline and Apollos-parties were therefore one in creed, and in all important particulars. They had received *the same lessons; the form and dress* in which the lessons were presented varying according to the mental peculiarities of the instructors. Apollos was perhaps the more eloquent; but Paul was the more learned, at least in Jewish literature. It does not seem probable that the two parties contended about the superior wisdom and science attributed to Apollos by one of them; for it is difficult to see how Paul could have been justly represented as inferior to Apollos in those qualities. It is true that the writer condemns *a false* science—*a worldly* wisdom; but it is unlikely that Apollos would have propounded the gospel in such a way as to mix up with it, either in matter or form, a science that could be so denominated. The relations in which he stood to Paul were too intimate, and the notices of him are too commendatory, to allow of the supposition that a wisdom stigmatised by the apostle as worldly and false could have formed a ground for

Apollos's preference in the eyes of his adherents. The two parties therefore, personally attached as they were to their respective leaders, came into collision about the degree of apostolic authority due to *the founder*, as compared with *the builder up* of the church. Members of the church disputed foolishly which of the two was superior in dignity—which was *the greater* apostle, entitled to *the pre-eminence*. If these observations be correct, it will be seen that we do not agree with such critics as assert that the polemics of the first four chapters are directed against the Apollos-adherents. Too much has been made out of the circumstance, that Apollos had been an Alexandrian Jew, as if on that account he must have been tinged with the theosophic learning then prevalent in Egypt, and familiar with the mode of interpretation applied to the Old Testament by the cultivated, philosophical Jews resident in Alexandria.

Thus the Pauline christians—those who adhered to the doctrines of this great apostle in the Corinthian community—were divided into two parties. One in faith, they chose to designate themselves after two different leaders respecting whose authority they did not agree. Whatever may have been the mode in which Apollos set forth the doctrines of Christianity, it cannot be inferred that he cast them in a theosophic Alexandrian mould, or presented them in such a dress as a cultivated philosopher of Egypt would naturally do, without attributing to him a culpability for which the epistles themselves afford no warrant.

The Jewish christians belonging to the Corinthian church, still entangled with national prejudices and prepossessions, stood in some measure distinct from the Pauline. Their modes of thought were opposed, in a certain sense, to those which characterised the Pauline and Apollos-parties. They were not able to sympathise in the *free* views of such as had been converted from heathenism. They could not bring themselves to think and act as Christians released from the obligations of the Mosaic law, without considerable difficulty. They felt a lingering attachment to former practices which they were unable at once to eradicate. The difference between them and the Pauline christians manifested itself mainly in regard to the use of flesh which had been offered in sacrifice to idols; as may be seen in the eighth, ninth,

and tenth chapters of the first epistle. There they are styled *weak brethren;* and those who possessed greater knowledge are exhorted not to offend less enlightened consciences by doing things which would cause them to stumble. These Jewish christians naturally chose Peter for their head. They ranged themselves under the banner of the apostle of the circumcision, though there is no probability that he had been personally at Corinth, as some have conjectured; and though his doctrine regarding the law did not differ from Paul's. But they were not actuated by hostile feelings towards Paul. Their creed agreed substantially with his; yet it was restrained from exercising its full power over them. They did not undermine his authority, or call his apostleship in question. But when they saw the other members manifesting their personal preferences by calling themselves the special adherents of Paul and Apollos, they began to look about for an apostle or apostolic man as *their* authority, in order that they too might have some distinctive appellation. There is no ground for believing that they were enemies to Paul's doctrine and person, or that they undermined his apostolic character.

It should be noticed that they were *Jewish christians*, not *Judaisers.* They were not *teachers*, but private members of the church, manifesting no intention of returning to Judaism, or of mixing up the observances of the Mosaic law generally, with the doctrines of christianity. It is unwarrantable to impute to them such designs as those by which the Judaising teachers were commonly prompted. They were not persons of the same influence or proselytising activity as the Judaisers whom Paul had so frequently to combat. They had passed from the religion of one dispensation to that of another, but were still partially unenlightened as to the genuine freedom of the gospel. Their consciences were greatly offended at the conduct of those Gentile converts who were not sufficiently circumspect or guarded in their actions before their weaker brethren. It is true that their scrupulousness was excessive; but yet they could not lay aside their prejudices at once. They thought that they should be guilty of idolatry if they ate of the food which had been offered to idols, even though they did not know that it had been so used. In this respect their consciences were certainly weak; but at the

same time their more enlightened Gentile brethren should have abstained from doing anything that might offer violence to conscientious feelings, and even to prejudices.

In proceeding to consider the nature of *the Christ-party*, the first idea probably that occurs to the reader is, that it consisted of Jewish christians. The first two parties, viz. the Pauline and Apollos-parties, were substantially one in sentiment, and therefore the last two should be regarded as one in sentiment also. There are two subdivisions of the Gentile christian division, and two in like manner of the Jewish christian. According to this obvious interpretation, a symmetry is introduced into the enumeration. The four parties are brought forward in a logical way, which commends itself at first sight to the approbation of an expositor. But a very slight examination suffices to shew the arbitrariness of this method. *The logical* division of the members in the sentence was not in the apostle's mind.[1]

While the first three parties were divided, they agreed in acknowledging apostolic authority. But there were others in the same church who disdained to acknowledge or to follow the divinely ordained instrumentality of any apostle. This party looked upon themselves as more enlightened than the rest, and styled themselves after Christ alone. They were particularly opposed to Paul, whose reputation they sought to lessen in various ways. They must be regarded as the most dangerous of all, whatever may have been the complexion of their sentiments.

It is impossible to ascertain what peculiar theological opinions were held by the Christ-party, if it be supposed that they *did* disseminate definite characteristic notions. Both epistles, especially the second, shew that the apostle refers to persons who questioned his apostleship. Hence he enters into a vindication of his own claims. It is probable that the individuals alluded to belonged to the Christ-party.

There were also in the Corinthian church some who preferred celibacy to married life, attaching a virtue to the former in preference to the latter state. Perhaps the question of marriage was

[1] See Rückert, Der erste Brief Pauli an die Korinther, u. s. w. I. Beilage, p. 436.

not mixed up with the parties, as though celibacy was a peculiar tenet belonging either to the Pauline-party, or, as Neander supposes, to the Christ-party, as Olshausen imagines. The disposition to celibacy shewed itself very early in the christian churches, and it seems unnecessary in the present instance to confine it to one particular section of the community at Corinth. Paul indeed was unmarried; but it need not thence be assumed that his adherents seized on this feature of his life, and elevated it into general prominence in their doctrinal sentiments.

The fifteenth chapter of the first epistle also shews that *some* (τινὲς) of the Corinthians denied or doubted the resurrection. Whether *they* should be assigned to the Christ-party is uncertain. They seem to us *not* to have belonged to it. Neander, Olshausen, and Jäger assume that they did belong to it; while Meyer on the other hand imagines that they pertained to the Apollos-party. The manner in which they are introduced (τινὲς ἐν ὑμῖν λέγουσι) shews that the error in question had not yet taken deep root, or developed itself so extensively as to be maintained by a whole party. Besides, the words of the apostle relative to the persons who speculated about *the mode* of the resurrection seem to imply that the error had not spread widely, because he employs mild language. He abstains from severe reproof.

Let us now look at the conduct and principles of those who set themselves in opposition to the apostle; for by them alone can the Christ-party be discovered. It was after Apollos's departure that certain persons of Jewish descent came to Corinth, furnished with letters of recommendation, probably from some part of Asia Minor, who set themselves forwards as apostles, and commenced building on Paul's foundation. But their spirit and aims were different from those of the disinterested labourer into whose field they intruded. Puffed up with notions of their own importance, they used the appliance of a worldly wisdom in preaching the gospel, surrounding the simple story of the Saviour's teachings and death with the garb of human philosophy and eloquence. In consequence of the undue stress they laid upon their *science*, the contrast between them and Paul became all the more apparent. *He* had insisted on the great fact that Christ died for sinners; without employing the aids of learning, or the artificial

ornaments of rhetoric. He had determined not to know anything among them, save Jesus Christ and him crucified. Hence *they* began to lessen the apostle in the eyes of the Corinthians on account of his pretended deficiency in the very qualifications of which *they* boasted, and to inspire their followers with a pride similar to that which they themselves exhibited. *They* were the men who possessed a high degree of wisdom which raised them far above the ordinary apostles. In consequence of their conduct in impugning his apostleship and teaching others to disobey his precepts, they are deservedly branded as "false apostles, deceitful workers," who transformed themselves into the apostles of Christ. Most of the allusions to them occur in the second epistle. Perhaps they had become bolder and more determined in their proceedings in the interval between the first and second letters.

We should probably look to the adherents of these false apostles for the Christ-party. The errors that appeared in the church at Colosse, and which are traceable to a Jewish source, may serve to shew, that the wisdom of which the teachers boasted was allied to Alexandrian theosophy. They were spiritualising or Gnostic christians, who pretended to have attained a deep insight into the mysteries of revelation. Schenkel followed by De Wette conjectures, that they pretended to stand in intimate connexion with Christ by *visions* and *revelations*. They gave out that they enjoyed a mysterious and immediate communion with Jesus, such as Paul himself never had. In this manner he supposes that the appellation by which they were distinguished is best accounted for. Accordingly the apostle reluctantly introduces visions and revelations, relating how he was caught up into paradise and heard wondrous things. Perhaps it is unnecessary to resort to this conjecture. The passages in which the apostle of the Gentiles dwells on the historic Christ and him crucified as the essence of the gospel, those which state that he *saw* the Lord, and such as speak of extraordinary revelations communicated to him, may have been introduced simply to vindicate his apostleship, to uphold his official character so unjustly depreciated, and to shew how he relied on the simple presentation of the great fact that Christ died for sinners. It is not very probable that the distinguishing peculiarity of those calling themselves the ad-

herents of Christ was *the mystical.* Perhaps they did not appeal to an inward revelation, as Paul appealed to the immediate revelation of Christ to himself, and thus placed themselves on the same level for assailing his apostolic authority. That the prevailing tendency of their belief was to set aside the reality of Christ's person and work, by substituting an ideal person, can hardly be allowed. It is purely improbable conjecture to affirm, that their creed forced *the historical* to give way to *the ideal* Christ, *the objective* merging into *the subjective.* We assume that the Christ-party was composed of such as had listened to the false teachers who had come to Corinth; that they exalted human wisdom and human eloquence; laid claim to a deeper γνῶσις by which they were specially united to Christ; and moulded Christianity into a theosophic, spiritualising form, endangering thereby its simplicity, essence, and beauty. Following the example of their instructors, the adherents of these selfish errorists had become inflated with self-conceit, and depreciated Paul as though he were no apostle. They rejected indeed the authority of all the apostles. They scorned to be considered the adherents of any man; and named themselves accordingly after Christ himself, as if they were more closely related to him than their brethren. Their great bane was the science of the world, inspiring them with extravagant notions of spiritual freedom.

In addition to the four parties in the church, there were various disorders, as has been already intimated. We shall particularise and consider them separately, as has been followed with regard to the topic already discussed.

2. Some of the converts had fallen into sins of uncleanness, in consequence of prevailing immorality. Various individuals in the church had yielded more or less to lasciviousness. Lewdness in different forms seems even to have become general, as may be inferred from the words ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία (v. 1), where the adverb ὅλως must be referred not to πορνεία exclusively, nor to ἀκούεται alone, but to the whole clause, intimating that varieties of uncleanness, included in the generic term πορνεία, were common among the Corinthians. This conclusion is confirmed, if not by chapter x. 8, at least by 2 Cor. xii. 21. Πορνεία does not signify here *a case* of fornication first stated

generally and then noticed more definitely in the terms *καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία*. The apostle speaks of the intelligence he had received that lewdness commonly prevailed among them, and proceeds to notice an extreme case of it, viz. unnatural intercourse between a stepson and stepmother.

It is doubtful whether the connexion was one of *marriage* or *concubinage*. The verb *ἔχω*, though commonly applied to the former, determines nothing (v. 1). It is more probable that *the latter* had taken place, and this, chiefly because of the word *ἀδικηθείς* (2 Cor. vii. 12), which most naturally refers to *the father* of the incestuous person, who was probably a member of the church as well as his son. Meyer and De Wette refer to the preterites *ποιήσας*, *κατεργασάμενον* (v. 2, 3) as adverse to this view, because those words indicate an union already completed; but they are quite apposite on the supposition that the woman had been taken to the man's house as a concubine, as Osiander[k] justly remarks. There is no use in inquiring whether the offender had been *a Jew* or *a Gentile*. On the supposition that he had been *a Jew*, some think that the incest arose from the Jewish principle that fleshly relations were annihilated by the spiritual relations into which a proselyte entered; and that there is a tacit indication of his nation in the expression *ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* (verse 1), but all this is more than doubtful. It is likely that the man who entered into a state of concubinage had been a heathen; and it is evident that he had not yet been purged from his old sins.

Notwithstanding the scandalous nature of the deed, it would appear that the members of the church had not withdrawn from the society of the incestuous person. The writer, after expressing his astonishment that they had allowed the man to remain in connexion with them, enjoins his immediate exclusion from the church. At the same time, he takes advantage of the opportunity to speak of other vicious persons, the covetous, the idolater, the railer, the drunkard, the extortioner, who were to be dealt with in a similar manner. He exhorts them to hold no intercourse with the fornicator, or those guilty of notorious vices;

[k] Commentar, u. s. w. p. 233.

to disavow their doings entirely, lest Christians should seem to countenance their sins, and disfigure the purity of religion in the eyes of the heathen. At the same time, he wishes his readers not to understand him as saying that he meant to exclude them from all communication with wicked men not belonging to the church; for that were impossible. He refers to the vicious *in the church.* The society is enjoined to expel incestuous and immoral characters, to keep no company with them, lest infection should pervade the whole body.

3. Another impropriety into which the Corinthian christians fell, was that of appealing to heathen tribunals. They had lost the spirit which distinguished the earliest adherents of Christianity. Hence they disputed about property. They were not of one heart and one soul. They had not all things in common. Brotherly love had become cold. Mutual distrust had taken possession of their minds. A generous confidence in the honesty and fidelity of their brethren had given place to selfishness and envy. It was customary among the Jews to decide their disputes by men chosen from among themselves, a practice they founded on Exodus xxi. 1; and, in the opinion of some, transferred from the synagogue to the Christian church. Christ, however, gave no express command on the subject, and therefore Paul could appeal to none. In order to correct such unseemly conduct, he reasons with them in another manner: "if the saints are destined to judge the world and angels themselves, they are much more competent to decide the minor affairs of the present life." He informs them that they should not go to law with one another on any occasion; much less appeal to heathen tribunals. All legal disputes between Christians are censured, as contrary to the love they ought to cherish towards one another. How absurd was the course which these Gentile christians pursued in this matter considered in relation to the dignity and future elevation of believers. And what a low standard of moral excellence did the Corinthian church present, notwithstanding the multitude of spiritual gifts possessed by the members.

4. In their observance of the Lord's Supper, the Corinthians had committed various abuses. In order to bring the institution as near as possible to the form in which it was observed by

Christ, a feast or evening meal preceded the supper among the Corinthians, just as the paschal feast preceded the *Last Supper* properly so called. Both were considered as *one* solemn transaction in commemoration of the Redeemer's death, and designated by the *one* appellation δεῖπνον κυριακόν.[1] At the preparatory meal or *agape*, all the members assembled and partook on an equal footing, without distinction of age, sex, or rank; to shew that *all* the brethren stood in the same relation to their common Master, and to evidence their mutual love. Each, according to his circumstances, brought with him meat and drink, to be shared by all. The poor man partook of the bounty of the rich, as if he had contributed his share of the meal; and the brethren, rich and poor, masters and slaves, in one holy fellowship, exhibited a beautiful spectacle of unity to the world. Such were the *agapae* or love-feasts of these early Christians — meals *preceding* the symbolic ordinance specifically styled the Lord's Supper, though closely connected with it. But when Christian love declined, these *agapae* lost their true character and object. They ceased to be meals of which all the members partook alike and indiscriminately. Those who brought food with them ate and drank by themselves, apart from the members who had been prevented by poverty from contributing. In consequence of this distinction, the poor in their hunger were compelled to look on; while their rich brethren, having more than was necessary, sometimes indulged in excess. One rich man was hungry and another was drunken. The meal degenerated into a private feast, losing all its significance and beautiful propriety. Better had it been to eat and drink in their own houses than thus to despise the church of God, and to put to shame such as had no houses of their own, the poor seeing their wealthy brethren revelling in abundance without being invited or allowed to partake. By that conduct, the rich rendered themselves unfit to join in the essential and more solemn part of the ordinance, with spiritual discernment or reverence. The apostle strongly censures these irregularities and excesses. In many countries there existed an ancient custom of

[1] See an excellent article on the Agapae in the masterly Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature edited by Kitto.

holding general entertainments, to which each family brought its own contribution, and where each family also consumed its own quota apart, without sharing in the viands of the rest. In this manner the *agapae* were conducted, although the spirit of the institution was so different. From whatever source the Gentile christians borrowed their love-feasts,[m] similar meals do not appear to have prevailed in the apostolic churches generally. They did not therefore constitute an *essential* or *necessary* part of the last supper. The Corinthians associated the meal with the solemn ordinance instituted by Christ to commemorate his death; and the apostle did not forbid it. He wrote against its abuse, without condemning it altogether; for he knew that there was something in the custom appropriate to the occasion.

We are well aware of the fact, that some believe Paul *to forbid the agapae altogether.* Such is the opinion of Professor Stuart, founded on the words, "One is hungry and another is drunken. What? have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?"[n] But the language in question does not appear absolutely to forbid the agapae or fore-meals. It condemns the idea of looking upon them as common feasts or meals at which the people might freely indulge their appetite, as much as in their own houses. Mere eating and drinking was a thing that could be done in their own houses, but that was not the object of the δεῖπνον κυριακὸν, which was to promote brotherly love. Thus the agapae are condemned so far as they ceased to promote Christian love; or, in other words, as far as they lost their original character and aim.[o]

5. Some of the Corinthians doubted or denied the truth of the resurrection. It is difficult to ascertain the precise form which their scepticism assumed, or the connexion in which it stood to other and kindred doctrines. They do not appear to have denied the fact of Christ's resurrection; neither is it necessary to assume that they rejected the soul's immortality; for although the reasoning of the apostle asserts these truths as well as the resurrection of the body, he may have adduced them not because they were

[m] See Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 119.

[n] See the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1843, edited by Dr. Robinson, p. 502.

[o] See De Wette's Exeg. Handbuch on 1 Cor. xi. 20-22.

rejected, but because he would shew that they were inseparably connected with the tenet impugned. It is agreeable to Paul's mode of developing doctrines and refuting opponents to point out the necessary bearings and consequences which the denial of an important truth must have on other parts of the Christian system. It is not likely that such doubts sprang from *Sadduceeism*, as Michaelis, Storr, and others supposed; or from *Essenism*, as Mosheim conjectured. According to either view, the impugners of the resurrection belonged to the Jewish party in the church. But the manner in which the apostle combats the error is not such as he would have employed against these Jewish sects. Rather do the doubts in question seem to have sprung up in Gentile soil, and to have been entertained by Gentile christians. Yet it cannot well be maintained that they were the product of Epicurean philosophy, since Epicureanism presents a marked opposition to Christianity in almost all its features. It has no points of contact by which it could be united partly or wholly with the principles of the gospel. Besides, the Epicurean maxims referred to in xv. 32-34 are represented as *the consequence* not *the source* of the particular scepticism combated by Paul. A denial of the resurrection and of immortality is set forth as *naturally leading to* a course of life practically godless, and sinful in all its manifestations. Neander and others suppose, that the impugners of the doctrine in question were cultivated Gentile christians—men who had exhibited a philosophic tendency before conversion. But it may be reasonably doubted whether there were many belonging to that class in the Corinthian church. *Very few* of the Grecian philosophers had turned to the new religion. Those who had received a philosophical training stood aloof from the simple preaching of the cross. Olshausen thinks that these deniers of the resurrection were *allegorists*, such as Hymeneus and Philetus, who taught that the resurrection was past already, setting aside *the historic reality* of the doctrine by a spiritualising process. There is little difference between this opinion and Burton's, which identifies the deniers of the resurrection with the Gnostics. But the apostle's argumentation does not suit these doubters. His polemics are too mild in relation to such dangerous and daring sceptics. Still

more improbable is it that they belonged to the Apollos-party, as Meyer and Rabiger conjecture. To whatever class the persons under consideration belonged, they speculated about the resurrection in a manner which led to a denial of the fact, probably because they could not see how a body after mouldering away into corruption could be raised again from the dust; or how the present material structure could be intimately associated with the soul in a higher condition of being.

In refuting their notions, the apostle begins with the fact of Christ's resurrection as a cardinal point in the gospel. Having proved *its reality*, he assumes it as the basis of his reasoning. He grounds the fact of the general resurrection on it. After showing that there will be a resurrection of the dead, he adverts to the *how* of the question, and lessens the difficulty by stating that the resurrection body will be a *spiritual* body, different from *the natural* body of the present life.

Paul seems to have *heard* of the preceding improprieties without being consulted about them by the Corinthians in their letter. Let us now advert to other topics, regarding which he had been *asked* for instruction.

6. The subject of marriage was one that gave rise to perplexity in the Corinthian church. Hence Paul's opinion of it was requested. It is not easy however to discover *the precise point* to which the question of the Corinthians referred, or the particulars respecting which they were unable to come to a definite conclusion; because the writer touches on several things in the seventh chapter. He speaks first of marriage generally, and enjoins the married state on all, as one tending to prevent fornication. On this account, the parties joined in wedlock should not defraud one another in respect to the obligations of the married state. At the same time, he expresses his preference of a single life in the case of those for whom that life was safe. He next condemns separations and divorces, even though one of the parties was a heathen, as long as the unbelieving party chose to continue with the other. After a short digression, the apostle turns to the unmarried, recommending them to remain single, because of impending calamities; and, lastly, he touches on the second marriage of women, but so cursorily as to intimate that it had not been

included among the interrogatories addressed to him. *The ascetic spirit* had appeared among the Corinthians, leading some of them to argue for celibacy, as though it were not only preferable to marriage, but had a peculiar virtue in itself. An extreme view was taken of the single life as essential to Christian perfection, or at least as far superior in every instance to the married state. Here then was the particular point of inquiry — Was celibacy in all cases to be recommended in preference to a wedded life? It is *possible* that the inquiry extended to the subject of separation between married parties, especially when one of them was an unbeliever; because Paul treats of this also in his answer. But it is not *certain*. It need not be supposed that the apostle confined himself to the single thing about which he was specially consulted. Rather should we expect from him a comprehensive view of the question, in its collateral aspects and bearings. Celibacy, and the absolute preference due to it, is *the great*, perhaps *the only point* of which his opinion had been asked.

It is difficult to discover the party among whom this ascetic propensity appeared. It is improbable that it originated with the Jewish christians, because in the eyes of Jews marriage was a most honourable and blessed institution, while celibacy was reckoned a disgrace. Neander appears to think that it took its rise with the Pauline christians, who overvalued celibacy because their leader was unmarried. This is improbable. The adherents of Paul in after-times never insisted on a single life. Olshausen again traces it to the Christ-party, whose *ideal propensities* as developed by the Gnostics accorded with the erroneous tenet. In like manner, Burton conjectures that the Gnostics introduced the discussions about marriage, because some of them prohibited it. All this is baseless conjecture. Perhaps the ascetic disposition which appeared very early in the churches was not confined to the adherents of one party among the Corinthians. It may have been adopted even by some Jewish converts borrowing it from the Gentile christians. It depended very much on the temperament of individuals.

When treating of the marriage relation, the apostle lays down a general maxim deserving of particular notice from the important applications of which it is capable. In whatever situation or

position conversion found an individual, it did not command him to start away abruptly from the externalities of former associations and pursuits. Christianity did not interfere with the relations of his outward life. They remained unaffected by its reception. The existing order of society was externally undisturbed by the new religion of the Redeemer. Such were the wisdom and moderation of its principles, that their tendency was to introduce outward reforms gradually and surely, apart from premature or revolutionary measures. This is applied by Paul to the case of slaves. The institute of slavery entered extensively into all the relations of the ancient world. Society in its manifold connexions was pervaded by its influence. Hence it comes under the notice of the New Testament writers, especially as many slaves were converted to Christianity and incorporated into newly formed churches. It is obvious that the principle on which it is founded is expressly condemned by the spirit of the Christian religion. It cannot be sanctioned by a system which enforces the comprehensive rule, "Do unto others as you would wish to be done to by them." Had the attempt been made to introduce compulsory servitude *as a new thing*, in the time of our Lord and his apostles, it would have been denounced and resisted as a measure of unmitigated evil. But it was then an old system. It had taken root and grown up as one of the prevailing vices which characterised the ages antecedent to the Lord's advent. Accordingly, the apostles did not enjoin masters to set their slaves at liberty. By moulding the dispositions of the masters, Christianity prepared them to be kind and benevolent, and to regard such as were placed under them in the light of brethren. In like manner, the latter are exhorted to submit cheerfully and patiently to the yoke, recollecting the true freedom conferred on them, and consoling themselves with the assurance that inward and spiritual liberty raises them far above the boasters of mere outward freedom. Yet Paul does not undervalue civil liberty, although it was not the direct object of the religion which he inculcated to interfere with civil arrangements. On the contrary, he exhorts every slave to avail himself of a legitimate opportunity to obtain his emancipation. He prefers freedom to slavery, when it could be procured without doing violence to the principles of justice, or

the established relations of social life. From this it is sufficiently clear that the apostle looked on slavery as uncongenial with the genuine spirit of Christianity. He anticipated the time when it should be done away by the regenerating influence of that new religion which was destined to effect an entire revolution in the state of society. Since all of us are ransomed by the blood of Christ, it does not become our proper dignity to be the compulsory servants of one another.

7. Another question related to the duties of Christians respecting the eating of flesh previously offered to idols. Some of the Gentile converts, presuming on their freedom under the gospel, not only ate without scruple the meat that was sold in the market after it had been dedicated to idols, but went so far as to partake of the feasts held in heathen temples, where such flesh was set before the guests. This gave offence to the Jewish christians, whose weak consciences naturally revolted at the conduct in question.

There are three points of the subject which the writer takes up, as if three questions had been put to him concerning it.

(*a*) Should a Christian eat the flesh of an animal offered in sacrifice to idols, after that flesh has been exposed in the market for sale and purchased as food?

(*b*) Should a Christian accept the invitation of a friend to partake of a feast held in a heathen temple, and eat the flesh there presented?

(*c*) Should a Christian go to a private entertainment, and partake of the flesh of animals that has been dedicated to idols?

To the first, the apostle replies in the affirmative. One might lawfully partake of meats offered to idols, if he were established in knowledge and faith, being fully convinced that idols are nothing. The writer however proposes some limitation to the exercise of Christian freedom in this respect. Care must be taken that, in so doing, a weaker brother shall not be offended; for an action perfectly harmless in itself ceases to be indifferent when the doing of it offers violence to the feelings or prejudices of a tender, over-scrupulous conscience.

To the second, the writer replies in the negative, because every Christian present at the idol feasts makes himself virtually a par-

taker of the idolatrous worship, and is so far a heathen. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils."

In regard to the third particular, the apostle states that every Christian might be present without scruple at a private entertainment given by a heathen, and eat whatever should be set before him, without asking any questions about the origin of the food provided. But if any scrupulous guest should say, when a particular dish was brought forward, "This meat has been offered in sacrifice to an idol," the Christian is exhorted, in that case, to abstain from the food; not on account of his own conscience, but out of regard to the conscience of the other.

We do not believe that the inquiry addressed to the apostle assumed the preceding form, or that it alluded to the various points embraced in the reply; for the writer was accustomed to look at subjects connected with Christianity in a comprehensive aspect, without being confined to the exact point brought under his notice.

This topic was intimately connected with the relation between the Pauline and Petrine parties. The former, boasting of their freedom, and entertaining correct conceptions of the Christian's privileges, *applied* their principles improperly. They joined without scruple in festive entertainments, where the flesh left after the sacrifices was presented; and looked on the uneasiness of the Jewish christians as a narrow prejudice deserving of ridicule. Thus the great law of love was forgotten in its modifying influence on the social relations. Extravagant ideas of their advancement in knowledge and faith engendered pride and presumption. An overweening estimate of themselves turned away their attention from others whom they should also have regarded. The Petrine christians, on the other hand, allowed their minds to be harassed with anxiety where there was no ground for it. Their scruples of conscience rendered them timid and feeble. They were entangled with unnecessary and slavish prejudices. How wisely and admirably does the apostle deal with the question, when he lays down the doctrine, that the believer in the case of practices innocent in themselves is bound by the law of love to act in such a manner as to promote the conversion of souls,

the spiritual prosperity of those who are not so enlightened as himself, and the glory of God. Thus particular circumstances affect things in themselves indifferent.

8. Another subject referred to the apostle was the demeanour of females in the public meetings. In consequence of a misunderstanding of Christian liberty, females appeared unveiled among a congregation of worshippers composed of both sexes. This practice had been adopted in imitation of the men, who appeared with uncovered heads, according to the Grecian custom. A false liberalism had induced them to overstep the bounds of propriety, in asserting their privileges under the new religion. The gospel, it is true, broke down the slavish restraint imposed on the sex in heathen countries, restoring woman to her rightful dignity. But some had been led to make an improper application of their freedom, as if it placed them on a perfect equality with the other sex; for they appeared unveiled in the public assemblies, and undertook to pray and to prophesy, assuming the office of teachers. Accordingly, the apostle condemns the custom of removing the veil in the promiscuous meetings of the worshippers, as well as that of praying and prophesying in public, though he reserves his denunciation of the latter practice to a subsequent occasion (xiii. 34). He reminds women of their subordination to the men; and shews the true position which each occupies relatively to the other and to Christ. He deems it improper that woman should appear in the bold openness proper to man, representing the uncovering of her head in the assemblies as unsuited to her modesty and *subordinate* position. *The tendency* of the custom is indicated to be immoral. Some think that Paul also denounces the opposite practice in the men of the Corinthian church, viz. keeping the head covered in the public assemblies; but there is no good ground for concluding that the males had fallen into this unseemly habit.

9. The Corinthian church enjoyed a large measure of spiritual gifts. All the forms and manifestations of miraculous power enjoyed by the early Christians appeared in lively action within that society. Powerful excitement was produced among them by the Spirit's wonderful operation on their susceptible minds. They had great zeal for the cultivation of the spiritual gifts pertaining

to public and oral instruction. But these divine impulses were diverted from their legitimate scope by the infirmities of the persons on whom they were bestowed. From deficiency of mature holiness in their possessors, these tokens of inspiration were affected by unworthy motives and desires which were often allowed to obtain undue ascendency. The remains of depravity did not permit the supernaturally elevated powers to put forth their exercise in *orderly* and *edifying* exhibition. It is singular, that those on whom the ability of speaking in foreign languages was conferred, should have been permitted to pervert it by making a show of it to their own exaltation. And it is still more inexplicable that the power should have been *continued* to the men who habitually misapplied it. *The application* of the charisms bestowed on the Corinthians gave rise to numerous abuses. The more striking and the dazzling were overvalued, particularly the gift of tongues; because the manifestations of that gift were adapted to fill the people with wonder. Those who possessed it looked down upon others not equally favoured with themselves; while the latter envied the former.

To correct this improper use of charisms, and at the same time to point out their right use and object, the apostle enters minutely into a consideration of the subject. It is obvious, that speaking in other languages and prophesying were the gifts he intended specially to notice, inasmuch as they related to *public* speaking, and were therefore most valued. But he treats of the character, value, and object of spiritual gifts *generally*, for the sake of shewing the proper relation which the gift of tongues bears to other kindred manifestations of supernatural influence. Here he introduces a metaphor taken from the human body, to prove that as all the members form one united organism, none superfluous, none contemptible; so the different gifts of the Spirit constitute one spiritual organism, each working harmoniously for the good of the whole. After this, he describes the manner in which love should regulate all the gifts, because they receive their true value from it. Lastly, he comes to the main part of the subject, viz. the use of two gifts in the public assemblies: speaking in foreign languages and prophesying. The latter, as tending to the edifying of the church, is preferred to the former.

Eichhorn supposes, that the letter sent by the Corinthians to Paul did not mention the present topic. But we follow Billroth and De Wette, who think that the apostle's counsel had been asked on this point as well as others. The expressions in which it is introduced intimate that he had been consulted: "Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant" (x. 1).

10. The last question of the Corinthian church related to the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem. Respecting the mode of collecting and conveying this contribution, the writer gives some directions.

VI. *Genuineness and authenticity.*

These have not been called in question even by the critics of the Tübingen school. They are unmistakeable. The mind of the great apostle is stamped on the composition with undeniable clearness. We perceive his reasoning and style in every chapter. It is the apostle's masterpiece of practical theology, as the epistle to the Romans is of doctrinal. "The epistles to the Corinthians," says Stier,[p] and this is especially true of the first, "are a pathology and *materia medica* for all that are designed to be physicians of the church in a larger or lesser circle;" and from whom could such skill be expected except from the apostle Paul? Though full of temporal and local references, they contain the elements of an ethical theology adapted to all times, and are eminently characteristic of their apostolic author.

The work was always assigned to Paul by early Christian writers. It is quoted or alluded to by Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and possibly by Justin Martyr. It is expressly cited as Paul's by Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Epistle to Diognetus. It is found also in Marcion's canon, and Eusebius's list of ὁμολογούμενα.

Clement of Rome says: *Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτοῦ τε, καὶ Κηφᾶ τε, καὶ Ἀπόλλω, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις*

[p] See his little work, entitled, Die Korintherbriefe, ein Vorbild Apostolischer Amtsführung.

ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.[q] "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he first write to you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth, he wrote to you by the Spirit concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because you had even then formed parties." Ignatius, or pseudo-Ignatius, writes: Πρέπον οὖν ἐστιν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ἦτε κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοϊ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.[r] "It is becoming, therefore, that in every way you should glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that in one obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing of the same thing." And again: Ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία, καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν.[s] "The cross, which is a stumbling-block to unbelievers, but to us salvation and eternal life. Where is the wise? Where is the disputer? Where is the boasting of them who are called prudent?" Polycarp has the following: "An nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt, sicut Paulus docet."[t] "Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world? as Paul teaches." Again: Καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε μαλακοὶ, οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα.[u] "Neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God; nor," etc. Justin Martyr writes: Ἦν γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τυθεὶς ὕστερον.[x] "For Christ was the passover who was afterwards sacrificed for us." He has also the following faint allusion: (Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος) ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις (1 Cor. xi. 19).[y] "And he [Christ] said, —— there shall be schisms and heresies." The testimony of Irenaeus is explicit: "Et hoc autem apostolum in epistolâ, quae est ad Corinthios, manifestissime ostendisse, dicentem: 'Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt,'" etc.[z] "This also the apostle [Paul] manifestly shews in the epistle addressed to the

[q] Ep. ad Corinth. c. 47.
[r] Ad Ephes. c. 2.
[s] Ad Ephes. c. 8.
[t] Ad Philippens. c. 11.
[u] Ad Philippens. c. 5.
[x] Dial. c. Tryph. p. 388.
[y] Dial. c. Tryph. p. 253.
[z] Adv. Haeres. iv. 27. § 3.

Corinthians, saying, 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud,'" etc. Athenagoras writes: *Εὔδηλον παντί τὸ λειπόμενον, ὅτι δεῖ, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο καὶ διασκεδαστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, ἵνα, κ. τ. λ.*[a] "It is manifest therefore that according to the apostle this corruptible must put on incorruption," etc. Clement of Alexandria says: *Σαφέστατα γοῦν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἀπήλλαξεν ἡμᾶς τῆς ζητήσεως ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ, ὧδέ πως γράφων· Ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσὶν, κ. τ. λ.*[b] "The blessed Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, has solved the inquiry, when he writes thus, 'Brethren, be not children in understanding,'" etc. Tertullian has the following passage: "Paulus in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis."[c] "Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of them who denied or doubted of a resurrection." Cyprian writes: "In epistola Pauli ad Corinthios prima: 'Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt.'"[d] "In the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud.'" The epistle to Diognetus contains these words: *Ὁ ἀπόστολος . . . . . λέγει· ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ*[e] (1 Cor. viii. 1). "The apostle . . . . . says, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.'" To these witnesses might be added Hermias and Firmilian, were it at all needful.

VII. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into four parts. The first relates to the general state of the church at Corinth, especially the party-divisions, which the apostle censures and endeavours to heal (chap. i. 1—iv. 21).

The second division is occupied with matters that concerned the private relations of individuals rather than their public relations when met together in a church capacity (chap. v. 1—xi. 1).

[a] De Resurrect. Mort. p. 61.
[b] Paedag. i. p. 96.
[c] De Praescript. c. 33.
[d] Testim. lib. i. c. 4.
[e] Justini Opp. p. 502.

The third refers to public demeanour in the assemblies, or the public relations of Christians (chap. xi. 2—xiv. 20).

The fourth contains a defence of the doctrine of the resurrection, with some general directions appended (chap. xv. 1—xvi. 24).

These again might be subdivided into various paragraphs, such as the following: (*a*) i. 1 - 31, relating to human wisdom, with respect to the gospel; (*b*) ii. 1 - 16, setting forth divine wisdom as revealed in the gospel; (*c*) iii. 1 - 22, a description of spiritual building; (*d*) iv. 1 - 21, man's judgment; (*e*) v. 1 - 13, the incestuous person; (*f*) vi. 1 - 20, judicial matters; (*g*) vii. 1 - 40, marriage; (*h*) viii. 1—xi. 1, Christian freedom; (*i*) xi. 2 - 16, the public demeanour of females in the church; (*k*) xi. 17 - 34, the Lord's Supper; (*l*) xii. 1—xiv. 40, the gift of tongues in relation to other spiritual gifts; (*m*) xv. 1 - 58, the resurrection of the body; (*n*) xvi. 1 - 24, the contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem.

I. After the usual salutation, the apostle congratulates his readers on their reception of the gospel, accompanied with abundant gifts and graces. He then beseeches them to be united in love, instead of being divided into contending parties, which he had just been informed was the case with them. He thanks God that he had afforded no ground for an undue attachment to his own person, since he had baptized very few of them, his great object being to preach the gospel rather than to baptize. The Corinthians are then warned against the wisdom of the world, which is opposed to the gospel where all true wisdom is centered in the cross of Christ. He describes how he had preached among them Christ the crucified One, not according to the forms of learning or philosophy, but in unadorned simplicity, that his success might not seem to be owing to human eloquence. The natural man however cannot discern excellency or wisdom in such a theme—to him it is foolishness; that man alone who is endowed with the Spirit of God, and thence furnished with spiritual discernment, receives and comprehends it as the highest wisdom. The apostle proceeds to state that his readers had made so little advancement in spirituality, that he could not address them as truly spiritual Christians. To this he attributes their

aberrations and divisions; for instead of attaching themselves solely to Christ as their head, they had exhibited excessive partiality to the human instrumentality He employs. But none other foundation can be laid than Christ himself; and every one must look to the nature of the materials and structure reared upon it, lest the building should be found incapable of standing the fiery test of the great day. As to himself, Paul affirms that he was perfectly convinced of his apostolic calling, and was therefore comparatively indifferent to the opinions of men. He had not sought from *men* the praise due to faithful stewards of the divine mysteries. The manifold sufferings which he had to endure were the true proof of his apostleship, and his disinterestedness to which he points the Corinthians, especially such of them as were inclined to exalt other teachers above him, or to detract from the legitimacy of his office. He alludes however to his self-denying labours, not for the purpose of upbraiding his readers, but to shew from his own example the disinterestedness required in preachers of the gospel. Whatever other instructors they had, *he* was their spiritual father and founder; and he beseeches them not to follow any other gospel than what they had received from his own lips.

II. The apostle condemns the Corinthians for associating with an incestuous person, whom he now commands them to expel from the church, and to have no intercourse either with him or any other openly immoral member. He next censures them for taking their disputes before heathen tribunals, instead of settling them by arbitrators chosen from among themselves. So far from patiently bearing injuries, they had done injuries to others. But such practices must preclude their admission into the kingdom of heaven. Formerly they had been great sinners in their heathen state, but Christianity demands purity, and the Christian's body must be holy, since it is the temple of the Holy Spirit. In the seventh chapter, Paul answers the question that had been proposed to him regarding marriage and celibacy, discussing various collateral points which were not probably included in the letter addressed to him. After this, the subject of Christian liberty is treated, with especial reference to the use of flesh which had been dedicated to idols. Here he adduces himself as an example to the Corinthians,

from which they might perceive how he had exercised his freedom and abstained from lawful enjoyments, so as to recommend the gospel the more effectually by accommodating himself to the wants, and making concessions even to the prejudices, of others. He did not avail himself of his Christian liberty to the full extent, like the other apostles; he had not married; he had taken no temporal support, but laboured with his own hands to supply his necessities. The mournful effects of abusing freedom are shewn from the history of the Israelites in the wilderness; and the Corinthians are exhorted to take warning by them, lest they too should be overtaken in a false security.

III. He now proceeds to condemn irregularities which existed among the Corinthians, with regard to the worship of God; and in the first place, the appearing of females in the assemblies with uncovered heads, whereas, on the contrary, a becoming distinction should be preserved between males and females in this particular, both as a token of modesty and of subjection on the part of the latter. The solemnisation of the Lord's Supper is next treated, which ordinance had been greatly abused. Here he places before them the mode of its institution by the Lord, and the sin of such as partake of it unworthily. Having concluded the present, he passes to a consideration of the gift of tongues, and the relation it bears to the other miraculous gifts generally. He affirms, that every one who speaks in the Spirit acknowledges that Jesus is the Lord—that this confession proves him to have received the Spirit—but that this Spirit is manifested in various ways without ceasing to be the same. All gifts proceed from the same spirit, and all have one great object, *i. e.* the edification of the church to which each contributes its appropriate part. Hence none should be preferred above another, since all are necessary, just as the different members of the body have each an important function to perform. This unity of spiritual gifts, both in their origin and object, enforces the great principle of love, which is above them all, and without which they are of no value. Here the writer vividly describes the nature of love, putting it along with faith and hope as one of the three cardinal virtues, and preferring it even to them because of its eternal duration. After this, he speaks at length of the two spiritual gifts of tongues and

prophesying, shewing that the former should not be exercised indiscriminately without regard to circumstances, since it is useless to the church, unless accompanied by interpretation, while the other is intelligible by itself. Women are enjoined to be silent in the churches, and all things are to be done with propriety and order in the public meetings of the saints.

IV. In the last division, the apostle discusses the doctrine of the resurrection, which was doubted or denied by some of the Corinthians. Its essential connexions with the leading tenets of the gospel are pointed out, and an illustration is borrowed from the organism of plants, to prove the compatibility of the body's resurrection with reason and nature. After demonstrating the doctrine, he concludes with recommending the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, informs his readers of his own intended journey to Corinth, and adds several exhortations and greetings.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

In treating of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, we shall arrange our observations under the following heads:—

I. Account of the Apostle in the Interval between the Writing of the First and Second Epistles now extant.
II. Effects of the First Epistle on the Church at Corinth, and State of the latter at the Time of Writing the Second.
III. Occasion and Object which originated the Epistle before us.
IV. Its Diction and Style.
V. Unity and Integrity.
VI. Time and Place of Writing.
VII. Authenticity and Genuineness.
VIII. Contents.

I. *Account of the apostle in the interval between the writing of the first and second epistles now extant.*

In the preceding chapter it was assumed that Timothy did not go as far as Corinth, but returned from Macedonia to Ephesus, without bringing any information relative to the state of the Corinthian church. There is no mention of his visiting Corinth in 2 Cor. xii. 18, although we should have expected it in that connexion; neither is it alluded to in Acts xix. 22. When therefore the apostle found that his young friend returned without the wished-for intelligence, he sent Titus with the same view, desiring him to act in accordance with the letter, and to deepen the impression it should make. Having attentively observed the state of affairs, it was expected that the messenger in question should be able to bring back accurate and perhaps welcome information to the uneasy writer. The epistle does not state that Paul had agreed to meet Titus on his return from Corinth, at Troas, although the fact has sometimes been assumed.

In opposition to the opinion now advanced respecting the time when Titus had been sent to Corinth it has been assumed by Schrader, with whom Billroth and Müller agree, that Titus had already been dispatched thither before the writing of the first epistle, with the letter now lost. Difficulties are alleged as lying against the common hypothesis; while some circumstances are thought to be directly and appropriately in favour of the new assumption. If we adopt the usual opinion, "It is difficult," says Billroth, "to see why Paul should have in his second epistle kept the real object of Titus's mission a secret, and should have represented that as being simply the collection of alms. He everywhere in this epistle seems desirous of making known to the Corinthians his tender love and care for them, and the anxious suspense in which he was before he received information respecting them; and this he would much more effectually have done by informing them that he had *sent* Titus out of his anxiety, than by telling them that he had merely anxiously *waited* for him."[a] These observations are directed against that particular view which represents Paul as sending Titus to the Corinthians under the pretext of collecting their contributions for the poor Christians in Palestine, but *really* to receive intelligence regarding them as soon as possible. We do not however adopt this hypothesis. There was no such cunning or secresy in the apostle's procedure. Everything he did was patent to the observation of all. From a comparison of vii. 14, 15 with xii. 17, 18, it appears that Titus had been sent to Corinth after the first epistle, and prior to the second, although the direct object of his mission is not stated. Why it is not adduced cannot be discovered. Perhaps it related to the contributions for the poor, for it is stated that the collection had been begun on that occasion (viii. 10). It is a mistake to identify the mission alluded to in viii. 6, 10, 16, 17 with that indicated in vii. 14, 15 and xii. 17, 18. The former passages are chiefly associated with *the present* epistle, though they also imply a previous mission of Titus. The latter relate principally to the former of the two missions. When Titus bore the second letter to the Corinthians, his leading object

[a] Introduction, translated in the Bib. Cabinet, vol. i. pp. 26, 27.

was to forward the contribution for the poor Christians at Jerusalem; but the contribution is not said to have been the leading object of the mission prior to that on which he bore the letter before us. It is not connected with this mission by the writer. Billroth thinks that the view which he adopts is favoured by 1 Cor. xvi. 1, etc.; but that passage is rather adverse to it, because Paul does not mention Titus there or in any other part of the first epistle.

After Titus had departed, a violent uproar arose at Ephesus. But it is by no means certain that the apostle left the place sooner than he had intended on that account, for he was frequently exposed to imminent danger at Ephesus. The success attending the apostolic preaching alarmed the selfishness of Demetrius, a silversmith, who was employed in manufacturing small models of the celebrated temple of Artemis at Ephesus—a profession which was the source of great gain. This man fearing that his craft was in danger called together his workmen, and easily inflamed their minds against him whose teaching tended to bring the great goddess into disrepute. In consequence of his representations, the company of artificers ran tumultuously through the city, filling it with confusion. Seizing upon Aristarchus and Gaius, they hurried them away to the theatre. But when Paul with his accustomed intrepidity desired to go in after them, the disciples would not allow him. Some of the magistrates also of Proconsular Asia were so far friendly, as to send a message intreating him not to venture into the theatre. At length the populace drew forth Alexander from among the multitude, the Jews also putting him forward that he might exonerate them by throwing the blame on the Christians. The people however would not hear him speak when they understood him to be a Jew; because the Jews as well as the Christians were looked upon as enemies of the heathen gods.

After the ignorant rabble had exhausted their fury they knew not for what, the recorder of the city addressed them, and quieted their turbulence by reminding them of the illegality of their conduct, and the hazard they incurred of being called to account for such behaviour. Hence the meeting dispersed.

It has been assumed by Bleek,[b] with whom Olshausen and Credner agree, that Titus bore a letter from Paul to the Corinthians which has been lost. But this assumption stands in necessary connexion with the opinion that Timothy had actually been in Corinth, which we look upon as erroneous; for after he had returned with intelligence from the church at that place, Titus is thought to have been dispatched. Agreeably to the view of Bleek, the apostle must have written four epistles to the Corinthians, two of which are no longer extant. The hypothesis is chiefly based on allusions found in the second of the extant epistles, which are supposed not to accord with the first. One passage referred to is 2 Cor. ii. 3, 4, where it is said: "And I wrote this same unto you, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you." Here the expression τοῦτο αὐτό and the description of the state of mind in which the apostle wrote, are urged in favour of a prior epistle different from the first which we now have. There is indeed an allusion to a former letter, but τοῦτο αὐτό does not presuppose a different one from that which exists. Surely the words of the first canonical epistle in v. 1-8 are sufficiently severe and painful to satisfy the requirements of the terms in the present passage. The first verse in particular must have caused pain to the writer and sorrow to the Corinthians—how much on both sides cannot be told. The apostle says that he had written to the Corinthians that very thing which had caused them so much sorrow, out of affection for them, that he might be prevented from having sorrow after his coming to them. He contrasts his writing to them in a certain strain which gave them grief with his coming to them without pain on their part or his. He did not wish to visit them personally while such disorders existed among them as must have awakened painful feelings and called forth severe reprehension; but he sent

[b] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1830, H. 3. p. 625, et seq.

them a letter, that they might repent and reform, and so prepare the way for a joyful meeting. The first epistle to the Corinthians *does* contain reproofs, and to it the passage alludes.

We interpret τοῦτο αὐτό *this very thing*, and take it to be governed in the accusative by the verb ἔγραψα, as do Beza, Billroth, Meyer, De Wette, and Wieseler, rather than *for this very reason*, as Rückert after Erasmus does. Bleek's objection that the topic respecting the incestuous person is not the prominent one in the first epistle, is not valid against the interpretation just given, which fixes on a particular passage in that epistle. Various sins are reproved in the first epistle to the Corinthians, especially that of uncleanness, of which a particular case is selected and singled out to be held up to reprehension.

In regard to the state of mind which the apostle attributes to himself while writing, and the many tears he shed, there is nothing too strong to preclude the belief that the intelligence he had received prior to writing the first epistle was fitted to cause much anguish. They take a superficial view of Paul's character who do not penetrate into the depths of feeling and of thoughtfulness which lay in the recesses of his heart. When he saw the fair field he had planted corrupted and destroyed—when the good seed seemed to be almost choked with the weeds of the world, he could not have been otherwise than deeply pained. True it is that he does not give full expression to his grief on every occasion, especially when addressing the very persons who had caused it by their misconduct; but this feature is characteristic of Paul, who spared the Corinthian church as much as possible lest he should appear to magnify its evils. Besides, passages are not wanting in the first epistle that suit such a description of the writer as is here presented. We refer to 1 Cor. i. 13; iv. 8, seq.; v. 2, 6, 13; vi. 1, seq.

Another passage to which Bleek points as justifying his hypothesis is vii. 8-14. Here ἀδικηθέντος (verse 12), *the person who suffered the wrong*, is explained of Paul, who delicately alludes to himself. It is argued too that the epistle spoken of in the passage must have mainly related to this one point; whereas the account of the incestuous person in the first letter is brief. If this be so, the existence of a different letter from the first is necessary; of

one chiefly occupied with the conduct of one man from whom the apostle had suffered grievous injury, who may have been either the incestuous person or another. But the most natural interpretation of ἀδικηθέντος is that which refers it to the father of the incestuous person against whom the great wrong was committed. In the fourteenth verse the phrase ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν ἡ ἐπὶ Τίτου is understood by Bleek to mean the praise given by Paul to Titus; and hence the existence of a letter containing that praise is conjured up. On the contrary, the connexion shews that it refers to the commendation given to the Corinthians in the presence of Titus before his departure. In short, there is no good reason for resorting to this hypothesis. The seventh chapter, which Bleek chiefly urges as accordant with it, does not require its adoption. All is natural on the usual acceptation.[c]

Some think it very strange that Paul should have sent Titus to Corinth during the critical circumstances of the church in that city without an epistle; and the lowest assumption with which they can be satisfied is, that Titus was the bearer of a few lines written by the apostle's hand. To us however there seems nothing unaccountable or unnatural in the fact of his going without an epistle. A copious letter had been written shortly before; and the writer had received no account of the mode in which it had been received, or of the impression it had made. After so brief an interval it would have been precipitate to dispatch another, unless the apostle had changed his mind on some of the topics treated — a supposition which needs only to be mentioned to be rejected.

II. *Effects of the first epistle on the church at Corinth, and state of the latter at the time of writing the second.*

After leaving Ephesus, Paul proceeded to Troas, where he was disappointed in not meeting Titus. He repaired thence to Macedonia, full of anxiety. Here the messenger returned from

[c] See Rückert's examination of Bleek's hypothesis in his Commentary, § 5. p. 417, et seq.

Corinth with a report satisfactory in the main. The letter had made an important and salutary impression on the church. The members in general had acknowledged Paul's divine authority, and manifested their readiness to obey his commands. They evinced regret on account of their irregularities, and were anxious to be reconciled to the spiritual benefactor whom they had grieved. The incestuous person had been dealt with by the majority according to the desire of the apostle, and *virtually* excommunicated. We cannot indeed assume from chap. ii. 5-10 that the sentence passed by Paul had been so re-affirmed and ratified by the majority that they had *really* excommunicated the offender; but we are warranted in saying, that *they had adopted a resolution to that effect*, and thus recorded their opinion of the case as agreeing with his. They had come to a decision identical with the command of Paul, although they had not yet carried it out into effect. The offender had been *virtually* not *actually* excluded from the church. The apostle therefore expresses himself satisfied with the sentence of the majority being recorded, especially as the offender had become penitent; and declares that it need not be carried into effect. On the contrary, he wishes them to confirm their love to the man, by receiving him back to the full communion of the church. The writer's object had been already attained in the proof given by the majority of their readiness to obey his command. In harmony with their procedure towards the incestuous person, the better portion of the community lamented their past conduct, and ardently wished for Paul's return.[d] Thus the intelligence brought back by Titus was so agreeable that the apostle takes up the notes of triumph and of exultation in gratitude to God. "Now thanks be unto God which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place."

But we are not to suppose, that all the members were at once brought to an humble acknowledgment of their sins. The greater number indeed had manifested a proper spirit after receiving the apostolic letter, and expressed their willingness to obey his admonitions; but the various evils were not at once and wholly removed.

[d] See Rückert's Commentary on 2 Cor. p. 48-58.

Corruptions existed which could not be removed in a day. Moral danger remained. The love of party lingered among them. Yet the effects of the writer's reproofs were so marked and extensive as to occasion joy both to Titus and to himself. Favourable symptoms of contrition and amelioration called forth the congratulations of one who was ever prone to spare the erring, to cherish the good principles of those over whom he watched with parental fondness, and to applaud even where there was some ground for severity. Most members of the factions laid aside their alienation and merged together in peace. They ceased to remain apart in the spirit of a narrow partisanship. But, notwithstanding the many agreeable circumstances on which the writer dwells, and the returning affection shewn to his person, not a few things still existed which demanded reproof. The disposition of the majority to submit to his decisions and welcome him back among them was not *universal*. He had still opponents who endeavoured to lessen his reputation and apostolic authority by openly alleging, or artfully insinuating, various charges against him. Instead of becoming obedient or contrite, they were all the more inimical as they saw the majority acknowledge his rightful claims. Hence *the apologetic tone* pervading many portions of the letter, the warnings it contains, the justifications of the writer and his proceedings. Even in the laudatory passages, side-glances at detractors appear. While praising the many, the apostle seldom loses sight of the few who continued to thwart him.

It were unreasonable to suppose that these adversaries belonged precisely to one of the four parties; or that all the appearances of good-will to the apostle which Titus witnessed, were prompted by right and permanent principle. Doubtless there was some sudden excitement in the direction of virtue from which permanency could not be expected—partial obedience founded on sudden resolutions—regret without true repentance. For such deficiencies, even in the better portion of the church, due allowance must be made. Still however it is probable, that the adversaries of Paul, consisting of those who evinced no disposition to return to better views and conduct even after his first letter, belonged chiefly to one or two of the parties.

Let us in *the first place* endeavour to collect out of the epistle the various statements or insinuations derogatory to the writer, to which he alludes in the way of refutation or self-defence; and advert *secondly* to the persons from whom they mainly proceeded.

1. He had before said, that he intended to proceed directly from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and return to Corinth to stay till his departure for Jerusalem. But the distracted state of the church induced him to change his purpose, because he was most reluctant to treat the Corinthians with severity. His enemies seized on this alteration of plan to turn it to his disadvantage. They charged him with fickleness and vacillation, inferring that his *doctrine* could be relied upon as little as his *promise*.

They further accused him of vain-glory and self-exaltation, because he spoke so much of himself. They were not solicitous to separate the divine power accompanying his ministry, and working mightily in him, from the feeble mortal whom God designed to employ as an instrument for his own glory; although the apostle himself always kept the distinction in view by ascribing his apostolic power and privileges to the extraordinary grace of God.

These opponents also directed attention to the contemptibleness of his person, contrasting the severity of his letters with the weakness of his body and the worthlessness of his speech. They intimated that he threatened what he would not and could not perform; and that although he might appear formidable when absent, he was truly timid and irresolute. He was afraid to come in person lest his feebleness should be apparent. He preferred to threaten at a distance.

These are the principal charges which Paul combats in the second epistle. They may not all have been *directly* or *openly* advanced. Perhaps they were put forth as much in the way of insinuation as of public calumny, just as circumstances seemed to favour their dissemination.

2. It has been generally assumed that the Judaisers or Petrine-party were the individuals who continued contumacious, notwithstanding the statements of the first epistle. Some, as De Wette, after Schenkel, find them in the Christ-party. This is the more

probable opinion. It is better however to combine these views, and to hold that the leaders of both parties are combated in the letter before us. References to Judaisers in such passages as chapters iii., x. 7, xi. 12, 13, xii. 11, cannot be mistaken; while other circumstances favour the idea that the Christ-party were *prominent* antagonists.

III. *Occasion and object which originated the epistle before us.*

The *occasion* on which the epistle was written will be apparent from the preceding remarks. After Titus had brought back a report of the Corinthian church, the apostle was prompted by a divine influence to write again. His *leading object* was to restore and establish his apostolic reputation in the church, and so to bring back the members to complete submission. A *secondary object* was to finish the collection for the poor saints in Judea, which Titus and his two companions had been sent to further.

The manner in which he seeks to accomplish his purpose indicates great skill in arranging the component parts of the letter. It will be observed that he makes a distinction between the church generally and the disquieters of its peace—between those who were led astray and their active seducers. The former he praises as far as his commendations could be justified by truth; since it was his object to convince them of their faults, and to gain them over to entire obedience. The latter, he seeks to overpower and to subdue. We should have expected from so consummate a master of argument, that he should begin with an address to the church generally, because, in that part of the subject, he could speak in terms of milder import. Their manifestations of repentance and obedience were such as to call forth commendation. The topic is accordingly put at the commencement of the letter, to bring the community to that tranquil and compliant disposition of which the great majority had already given favourable symptoms. Everything in the way of praise that could be affirmed of them is transferred to the whole body, or at least no separation is made between the better and the more corrupt members. The same language is applied to all. The writer expresses the same affection for all, and entertains good hopes of all. He then proceeds to speak of himself, his life, his

sufferings, his labours, his hopes, in such a way as to present the picture of one deeply conscious of the importance of his office, and pursuing the duties of it with singular earnestness. Here the portrait which he draws of himself—without vain-glory, but at the same time with dignity, and consciousness of the divine power working in him—is such as to attract the admiration of every reader. With artless simplicity the delineation seems to flow from a full heart, apart from all pretension to rhetorical arrangement, but at the same time in such a shape as is the very best for the attainment of his object. The skill indeed is consummate, although it is not prominently seen, being concealed beneath the warm outpourings of a heart whose feelings were intensely alive to all that affected the great cause of Christian truth.

The second part of the letter, consisting of what is less important, is put between the two leading divisions.

In the third portion, the tone of the writer is manifestly altered. It is directly and entirely against his opponents, triumphantly vindicating him from all their aspersions. Here he threatens them severely with the exercise of his apostolic power, and calls God to witness the purity of his motives.

Wieseler[e] thinks that the epistle divides itself chronologically into two parts, viz. i. 1—vii. 1 and vii. 2—xiii. 13. The former was written *before* the apostle's meeting with Titus, the latter *after* it. But the proofs of this position which he pronounces so plain and satisfactory do not seem so to us. Because the writer returns occasionally to the same topic or topics in the second part, which he had treated of in the first, therefore the inference in question is drawn by this learned critic. With great simplicity he asks, *how* can such phenomena be explained *logically?* Surely however they are not uncommon in the Pauline epistles. Repetitions, digressions, and the like, are usual. *Logical* arrangement did not guide the apostle's discussions. The second epistle to the Corinthians in particular exhibits all the freedom of epistolary writing. It is pervaded by no definite plan. We must therefore reject Wieseler's conclusion. The considerations which he ad-

[e] Chronologie, u. s. w. pp. 357, 358.

duces in its favour are not valid. And there are grave objections that lie against it, were it needful to adduce them. But the hypothesis scarcely deserves dissection or minute refutation.

IV. *Its diction and style.*

The language of the epistle has been severely criticised by Eichhorn and Emmerling, while others after their example have stated the same sentiments in a less obnoxious form. It is usually affirmed that the mode of writing is harsh, rugged, awkward, obscure, and loose, much more so than in Paul's other epistles. Long parentheses and digressions intersect the thread of the narrative, and disturb the regular sequence of its parts. Hebraisms are abundant. In some passages indeed there is a ruggedness; in others, a tone *apparently* approaching inflation. The sentences too are occasionally broken off, without any apparent reason for the interruption, and without approximating in any way the purity of classical Greek. Contrasted with the language of the first epistle, there is a deficiency in ease and smoothness. These however are the exceptions rather than the general features of the style; for it may be questioned whether the language, taken as a whole, be inferior to that of any other Pauline epistle in forms and expressions cognate to those used by the best Greek writers. There is no lack of terms to express the writer's meaning with fulness. He is master of good Hellenistic Greek, and frequently of what would be regarded pure classical Greek by competent judges. In short, the diction and style bear the impress of Paul. They are characteristic of him.

Many of the accusations brought against the epistle are groundless. Thus in chapter i. 8, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν is said by Eichhorn to be put for περὶ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν. But the preposition ὑπὲρ is frequently employed to denote *concerning*. So in 2 Thess. ii. 1. It should also be noticed, that Lachmann, Rückert, and Tischendorf, on the authority of the most ancient MSS., have περὶ in the text instead of the received ὑπὲρ. Again, in i. 9, τὸ ἀπόκριμα is said to be for το κατάκριμα. This however is an incorrect statement, for the term does not mean the condemnatory sentence of death, as many interpreters assume, but *the answer* of death. Hence there is nothing erroneous in the use of

the word in chap. i. 9. The mistake lies at the door of Eichhorn and others. In chapter iv. 12, *ἐνεργεῖται* does not stand for *φανεροῦται*, as the same critic asserts; but is, on the contrary, far more expressive and appropriate; while in the tenth verse of the same chapter, *τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* is perfectly correct. To affirm that it is put instead of *νέκρωσιν διὰ Ἰησοῦν*, meaning *signa periculorum propter disciplinam christianam*, argues a faint perception of the Pauline doctrine and phraseology. The meaning of the phrase is, continued exposure to the death of Christ —to the same death which he suffered: "We, says the apostle, constantly exemplify in our lives that endurance of suffering which characterised the life of the Saviour." The expression *παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (i. 7) is of the same import. In the topics contained in iv. 17 and v. 1-4 we cannot see any mixture or confusion repugnant to taste. The figures indeed are somewhat unusual; but the topics also are unusual, and the ideas intended to be conveyed almost too great for language to express. Hence the peculiarity and power of the phraseology. Nor can it be admitted by any right-minded judge, that such passages as i. 3-7, v. 2-9, x. 12-16, countenance the idea that in them the writer was conscious of obscurity, and consequently subjoined synonymous expressions, so as to cause prolixity without clearness. It is true that they present some difficulty in regard to the proper interpretation; but this feature is not uncommon in Paul's epistles. That the order of the clauses in viii. 11 is inverted, is an opinion justly rejected by the best expositors. The apostle writes to his readers, "Last year ye began not only to do but also to be fond of doing; now therefore complete (not only the readiness to do which you have previously felt but) also the doing itself." They had already manifested a *readiness to forward* the contribution, on which the apostle grounds his exhortation *to finish the work* by their contributions. The circumstance that they had previously exhibited some zeal in the matter, gives him a stronger basis for his request to them to *complete the work*, than the mere fact that they had already begun to do something apart from all consideration of readiness and zeal on their part. In vii. 8 the two clauses *οὐ μεταμέλομαι* and *εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην* are not placed in wrong order. If the common punctuation and

reading be correct, the meaning will be: "I do not *now* regret that I wrote you such a letter of reproof, though I did regret the necessity of sending it."

In noticing these affirmations of Eichhorn we have been impressed with the fact, that the obscurity or harshness discovered in certain passages vanishes as soon as the right reading or the proper interpunction is adopted. Nor can it be concealed, that a mistaken apprehension of the sense has contributed to increase the supposed awkwardness of other places. A deep and thorough examination will sufficiently shew the baselessness of accusations deriving all their point from partial acquaintance with the apostle's theological sentiments—sentiments developed in a peculiar phraseology suited to their nature, though not always patent to the observation of the classical rhetorician. Hence we have no hesitation in pronouncing the criticisms of Eichhorn and Emmerling substantially incorrect. Their statements are exaggerated. They have *unduly*, not to say *unjustly*, depreciated the style of this epistle.

It is needless to refer to the usual mode of accounting for the general negligence of diction, since we do not consider it to be full of awkward and careless constructions. The great haste with which the epistle was written, as the apostle travelled from place to place in Macedonia, and the intense emotions agitating his bosom at the period, have been adduced as giving rise to the peculiar mode of writing. We should be inclined however to attribute a very slight influence to these circumstances, even if their reality were allowed. The apostle wrote under a divine influence which directed and controlled, not only his ideas, but the outward garb in which they were clothed. Hence there is a gravity in the diction of the epistle corresponding to the weightiness of the theme as it appeared to the apostle's mind. Hurry and haste are not inscribed upon it. It possesses a tone of deep earnestness, embodied not in loose and disjointed phraseology, but in measured and appropriate terms. There is thus no need to have recourse to external circumstances for the purpose of explaining an *imaginary* viciousness of style.

V. *Unity and integrity.*

In consequence of several difficulties, some of them peculiar, in the epistle, doubts have been entertained respecting its integrity by a few critics. The principal phenomena of this nature are three, as stated by Schleiermacher.[f]

First. Opposite statements respecting Titus. Thus, in viii. 23, 24, Paul requests for him a good reception among the Corinthians; whereas, in xii. 18, he asks, "Did Titus make a gain of you? Walked we not in the same spirit? Walked we not in the same steps?"

Secondly. Opposite statements respecting the apostle himself, as if he were now for the first time on the point of coming out of Macedonia (ix. 4); and again, as if he had been already at Corinth a second time (xii. 14; xiii. 1, 2); the latter of which cannot be reconciled with the narrative in the Acts.

Thirdly. An entirely different tone prevails at the beginning and the end of the epistle. From being laudatory and mild, it becomes severe, threatening, harsh.

It is not difficult to remove these apparent incongruities. As to the first, Titus had been already at Corinth, and to this visit the words in xii. 18 refer. The apostle asks for him a good reception again, when he should arrive at Corinth with the epistle before us. The second has been already elucidated at sufficient length. We have also spoken of the alteration in the apostle's tone in different parts of the letter. He had different parties in view in the two cases. He speaks to the body of the church in the first part, but in the last to the party who continued to resist his authority and undermine his reputation.

Semler[g] conjectured, that letters or paragraphs composed at different times were subsequently put together so as to make the present epistle. According to him, the letter which Titus bore on his second mission to Corinth consisted of chapters i. 1—viii. 24, to which belonged what now forms part of the epistle to the Romans, viz. Romans xvi. 1 - 20 and 2 Cor. xiii. 11 - 13, forming the conclusion of the whole. When the messenger arrived at

[f] Einleitung, u. s. w. pp. 154, 155.

[g] Dissertatio de duplici Appendice Epist. ad Romanos.

Corinth, he gave the apostle an account of the charges alleged against him by his adversaries, either by letter or by a trustworthy servant. In consequence of such intelligence, Paul composed in his own defence 2 Cor. x. 1 — xiii. 10, and despatched it to Titus as an appendix to the epistle which the church had already received. At the same time, he sent through Titus a request to the other churches in Achaia to furnish a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem—a request contained in 2 Cor. ix. 1 - 15. These different pieces are thought to have been put together into one epistle at Corinth, that they might be the more safely preserved. We are not required to enter upon a formal refutation of this singular hypothesis. It was speedily demolished by Gabler; and has never commended itself even to the projector's countrymen, as the rejection of it by Eichhorn and Bertholdt sufficiently attests.

Weber[h] again thought, that the original body of the epistle consisted of chapters i. — ix. xiii. 11 - 13, while x. 1 — xiii. 10 are supposed to have been a separate letter, *the fifth*, as he thinks, to the Corinthians, written at another time. Bertholdt has sufficiently refuted this second hypothesis.

Paulus[i] has also declared his disbelief in the integrity of the epistle before us, without assigning a satisfactory reason. In like manner Greeve, a Dutch theologian, separated the last five chapters from the preceding part of the epistle, without sufficient reason.[k]

The dismemberment attempted by such writers as those to which allusion has been made, arises from want of proper discrimination. The admirable skill with which the whole is arranged has been the very means of leading them to separate it into different pieces, written on various occasions. They are blind to the masterly management of the subject displayed by the writer. Their obtuseness has converted a peculiar excellence into a strange defect, for which they try to account by summoning to their aid the most improbable conjectures.

[h] Program. de Numero Epistolarum ad Corinth. rectius constituendo.

[i] In the Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur, Jahrg. 5. H. 7. p. 703.

[k] See Bertholdt's Einleit. pp. 3390, 3391.

VI. *Time and place of writing.*

The epistle was written in Macedonia (ii. 13; vii. 5; ix. 2 - 4), and according to the subscription embodying an ancient tradition, at Philippi. Others think it was written at Troas, appealing to 2 Cor. ii. 12. This passage however, taken in connexion with the following verse, proves that the writer had left Troas before he composed the letter. That it was written at Beroea, as Bloch supposes, is still more improbable. Yet there is nothing in the epistle itself that favours one particular locality in Macedonia rather than another. Some think that it was not all written in one place, but on one or more journeys at different places and times. This opinion is founded on an erroneous view of the epistle, which represents it to be without order or method, loose and disjointed. It is idle to inquire whether the whole were written at one sitting; or, if not, whether the apostle changed his residence during the intervals of composing its different parts. It is impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion, where there are no data; and there are questions curious and trifling which should not be discussed.

The precise time of writing cannot be definitely determined. It was probably not long after the first epistle, as various circumstances combine to shew, among which we may mention Paul's allusion to his great danger at Ephesus (2 Cor. i. 4 - 10), which was caused by Demetrius. The fact is referred to in such a manner, as to indicate that it had taken place shortly before. That the tribulation and peril should be interpreted *chiefly* by the circumstances recorded in Acts xix. 23 - 41, cannot be fairly questioned, though De Wette is adverse to the admission. But the considerations adduced by himself and others are of little weight against the common view. Thus it is said that Paul's life was not then in imminent danger, an observation the justness of which we are unable to see. It appears to us that he had been exposed to great danger at Ephesus, and that his mind had been then much depressed by a strong presentiment that he should not escape death. As to the remark of Rückert, approved of by De Wette, that if Ephesus had been meant the writer would not have said ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, *in Asia*, but *Ephesus* itself, as he does in

the first epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 32 and xvi. 8): it appears to be very trifling, because it is most unreasonable to bind him down to one uniform mode of expression.[1] Amid the variety of opinions, therefore, respecting the place and nature of the imminent peril alluded to, the ancient one of Theodoret, which most interpreters follow, is entitled to the preference. The nineteenth chapter of the Acts is the best expositor of the words in 2 Cor. i. 8 - 10 verses.

Soon after the letter had been sent away, Paul left Ephesus, came to Macedonia, and completed the collection for the poor saints. The second epistle was therefore composed towards the conclusion of the same year in which the first was written, some time before Paul's three months' sojourn in Achaia.

Some writers, as Sandhagen, suppose that there was the interval of a year between the two communications, relying on 2 Cor. viii. 10 and ix. 2. But the expression *ἀπὸ πέρυσι* is too indefinite to justify this assumption, because it simply means *since the preceding year*. We cannot tell moreover what reckoning of time the apostle follows, the Jewish, the Grecian, or the Roman. It is most probable that the Jewish computation is that which he continued to adopt, agreeably to which the commencement of the year fell in *Tisri*, *i. e.* September and October. The bearers were Titus and two brethren, one of whom was chosen by the Macedonian churches to convey the contribution to Jerusalem. One of these persons is styled *the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout the churches*, *i. e.* in preaching the gospel throughout all the churches. In ascertaining who he was, we are wholly left to conjecture. De Wette judges and limits the conjectures on the point by the following criteria, viz. that he was subordinate to Titus, and that he was unknown to the Corinthians; but we are unable to see the propriety of them. The criteria do not appear in the passage, as far as we can judge. The commonest opinion identifies the brother in question with Luke. This is a very ancient view, for it is found in Ignatius, Origen, Jerome, Ambrose, and in the subscription to the epistle. Many too have adopted it in modern times. But it is uncere-

[1] De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch.

moniously rejected by Burton and others, as having arisen from a false interpretation of the word *gospel*, viz. *Luke's written gospel.* Yet it *may have* arisen from this erroneous meaning of the word *gospel*, and be true notwithstanding. In *preaching* the gospel throughout all the churches of Macedonia, Luke *may have been* noted; though nothing is said of it by himself in the Acts of the apostles. Still we do not know that he was. According to others, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Calvin, etc., Barnabas was the brother. Others, as Storr, fix on Mark, which is quite improbable. Burton, after Estius, conjectures that he was Silas, or Silvanus, chiefly on account of the words "chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace" (viii. 19). De Wette proposes Trophimus as the person intended.

The same uncertainty rests on the other companion of Titus spoken of in the twenty-second verse of the eighth chapter. He has been identified with Apollos, Epaenetus, Silas, Sosthenes, Zenas, etc. Sosthenes is the most probable in Burton's view. "Since St. Paul," says that able writer, "couples Sosthenes with himself in his salutation to the Corinthians in his first epistle (i. 1), it seems probable that he was personally known to them, and may therefore have been the brother here intended. If he was the Sosthenes mentioned in Acts xviii. 17, as some persons have thought, he was probably a Corinthian."[m]

VII. *Authenticity and genuineness.*

The authenticity and genuineness of the second epistle to the Corinthians have never been called in question. They are presupposed and confirmed by the contents of the first epistle; and all the historical facts recorded in the Acts of the Apostles harmonise with them. Ancient witnesses abundantly attest them, such as Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Firmilian, Cyprian, and Novatus.

Irenaeus writes: "Quod autem dicunt, aperte Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios dixisse: 'In quibus Deus saeculi hujus excaecavit mentes infidelium.'"[n] "Paul has plainly said in the

[m] Chronology of the Acts; Theological Works, vol. iv. p. 84.

[n] Adv. Haeres. III. 7. § 1.

second to the Corinthians, 'in whom the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers.'" The words of Athenagoras are: *Εὔδηλον παντὶ τὸ λειπόμενον . . . . . ἕκαστος κομίσηται δικαίως ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξεν εἴτε ἀγαθὰ, εἴτε κακά* (2 Cor. v. 10).[o] "It is manifest therefore, that according to the apostle this corruptible and dissipated must put on incorruption; that the dead being raised up to life," etc. Clement of Alexandria has the following: *Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς γνώσεως ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν δὲ κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πίστεως ὀσμὴν γνώσεως εἴρηκεν, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους* (2 Cor. ii. 14). *Ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα, κ. τ. λ.* (2 Cor. iii. 14.)[p] "The apostle calls the common doctrine of the faith a savour of knowledge in the second to the Corinthians, for until this day the same veil remains," etc. Again: *Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος . . . . . Ταύτας οὖν ἔχετε τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, φησὶν, ἀγαπητοί· καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ* (2 Cor. vii. 1).[q] "Hence also Paul —— 'Ye have these promises,' says he, 'dearly beloved; let us cleanse our hearts from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.'" Tertullian writes: "Revera enim suspicantur, Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in prima dedendum Satanae in interitum carnis pronuntiarit," etc.[r] "For indeed they suppose that the apostle Paul, in the second to the Corinthians, forgave the same fornicator whom in the first he had declared ought to be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Firmilian quotes 2 Cor. xi. 2, attributing the words to *the apostle.* Cyprian has the following: "Item beatus apostolus Paulus, dominicae inspirationis gratiâ plenus: 'Qui administrat, inquit,'" etc.[s] "Likewise the blessed apostle Paul, full of the inspiration of the Lord, 'Now he that ministereth,' says he, 'seed to the sower, will both minister bread,'" etc. (2 Cor. ix. 10, 11). Novatus has the following: "Denique apostolus Paulus, 'Habentes, inquit, eundem spiritum,'" etc.[t] (2 Cor. iv. 13).

[o] De Resurrect. Mort.
[p] Strom. lib. iv. p. 514.
[q] Strom. lib. iii. p. 456.
[r] De Pudicit. c. xiii. p. 564.
[s] De Opp. et Eleemos. p. 201.
[t] Cap. xxix. p. 219.

"Lastly, the apostle Paul, 'Having,' says he, 'the same spirit, as it is written, I believed, therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak.'"

VIII. *Contents.*

The epistle is most conveniently divided into *three* parts, viz. I. Chap. I.—VII.; II. VIII. IX.; III. X.—XIII.

I. i.—vii. This part contains the utterances of the apostle's heart respecting his personal fortunes, purposes, feelings, and desires, during the interval between the first epistle and the present, with the long-expected and generally favourable account he had received from Corinth by Titus; whence he is led to assert the dignity of his apostolic office, and the disinterested manner in which he had fulfilled it among the Corinthians.

II. viii. ix. Here he encourages them to complete the contribution they had begun to make for the poor Jewish believers in Judea, for which purpose he had sent Titus with two others to promote the work.

III. x.—xiii. He now assumes a threatening tone in opposition to the refractory enemies he had among them, asserts his apostolic power and character, exposes the false apostles who attempted to undermine his authority, and speaks reluctantly of his own merits, not however from vain-glory, but out of concern for their good.

These again are divisible into the following paragraphs:—(*a*) chap. i. 3 - 11; (*b*) i. 12 - 24; (*c*) ii. 1 - 11; (*d*) ii. 12 - 17; (*e*) iii. 1—vi. 10; (*f*) vi. 11—vii. 1; (*g*) vii. 2 - 16; (*h*) viii. ix.; (*k*) x. 1 - 18; (*l*) xi. 1 - 33; (*m*) xii. 1 - 21; (*n*) xiii. 1 - 13.

I. After the usual introduction, he thanks God for the consolation granted him in all his sufferings, and for the ability too to console others who might be in like circumstances; which leads him to speak particularly of the imminent danger from which he had recently been delivered, ascribing his deliverance in part to their prayers on his behalf. Such intercession he expects from them because of his good conscience and his confidence in them. He then defends himself against misrepresentation because he had altered his purpose of visiting them in person, assuring them that it was not from fear or

fickleness of mind, but out of tenderness and compassion towards them.

The mention of his wish not to be the means of giving them pain, brings him to the subject of his former letter and the case of the incestuous person. It was for this reason that he wrote to them his former epistle with a *troubled* heart. But he was now satisfied with the discipline which the church had exercised towards the incestuous member by his recommendation, and wishes him to be forgiven and restored as a penitent. He proceeds to point out his affection for them in the anxiety he felt when he did not meet with Titus at Troas, and travelled to Macedonia hoping to find him there. But the accounts he received at last when he did meet with Titus were so pleasing, that he breaks forth into an expression of praise to God, who caused him always to triumph. In this manner he passes to himself, giving expression to his apostolic enthusiasm. For the sake of obviating the suspicion of vain-glory, he appeals to what he had performed at Corinth; but is careful at the same time to ascribe to God all the ability that had made him an efficient minister of the new covenant, not of the old dispensation, but of the gospel, whose ministry is far more excellent than that of the former and confers greater glory on its servants. Conscious of this superior dignity, the apostle proceeds with great freedom of speech to contrast the law of Moses with the spiritual dispensation *he* set forth; but yet the openness of his teaching was in vain in relation to the blinded part of the Jewish nation: the veil remained on their minds during the reading of the Old Testament, and will be removed only in the case of the converted.

He now returns to the frankness and freedom already touched upon, agreeably to which he preached the whole truth without falsification, though it might not be received by all. He did not preach it with a view of exalting self, or with the admixture of selfish motives; but he announced nothing except the pure light of the gospel, which God had caused to shine in his heart. Conscious therefore that he had been called to the apostolic work, he does not lose courage or confidence even amid the sufferings connected with his vocation; but, knowing the power of God and of Christ living in him, he is supported amid exposures to

death, as he looks forward to the future glory, in which the remembrance of earth's light afflictions shall be swallowed up for ever. To that eternal state of happiness he had the principal regard, else he could not have acted and suffered as he did. But he knew that after laying aside this earthly body he should have a spiritual one superinduced. With such hope therefore, and remembering that all must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, he could appeal to the consciences of the Corinthians for his fidelity, though he did not mention his behaviour out of vain-glory; for in whatever way he acted, it was for God and His church. Animated by the love of Christ, and judging that the death He died was for all, the apostle did not live to himself, but to the Saviour: not attaching importance to the earthly conditions and relations of men, nor even knowing Christ after the flesh any more; but laying aside carnal ideas of his mission. In Christ, every thing becomes new by means of the reconciliation effected by God through Him; and the commission to offer that reconciliation had been entrusted to the writer. Hence, as an ambassador for Christ, he beseeches the Corinthians to be reconciled to God, and become subjects of his righteousness. By virtue of his office, he exhorts them not to restrain the grace of God, as if they had received it in vain; and then returns to his conduct in discharging the duties of that office. He had been very careful to give no offence in his ministry, at all times, in all places and circumstances; in prosperity and adversity; in thought, word, and deed; in good report and in bad report; by life, or by death. With this warm and pathetic address, he makes a transition to various admonitions, and advises his readers to guard against entering into connexions with the idolatrous heathen in the pursuits or associations of life, lest they should be seduced into sinful practices. As he begins to speak of the intelligence which Titus brought him, and the effects of his first letter, he says, "Understand my meaning aright; ascribe no evil designs to me in writing the former letter. I have given you no cause to think so by my apostolic conduct in relation to you." He had been very uneasy till he had received from Titus an account of their repentance; but that account had filled him with comfort and joy. He was glad that his first epistle had affected them so

much; not that he took any pleasure in reproving them, but he rejoiced that it made the guilty repent. The consequence arising from it had been the very thing he had in view in writing it. He could therefore repeat his former glorying in his converts at Corinth, rejoicing particularly in the fact that Titus himself had returned from them well-pleased.

II. In taking up the topic of the collection among the Gentile churches for the use of the poor Jewish christians in Judea, he boasts of the willing, liberal spirit displayed by the Macedonian churches, who in a time of persecution, in narrow circumstances, had contributed considerably to that charitable object. He informs them that he had desired Titus to call on them to finish the work by their contributions; and he hoped they would abound in their liberality on this occasion. Not that he commanded them to be liberal, but shewed them that it was conformable to the example of Christ, who denied Himself for the good of mankind. And as the Corinthians had begun to be very generous a year ago, and he had spoken of that fact in Macedonia, he hoped they would answer his good opinion of them. He did not mean indeed that they should do all, and other churches nothing, but that they should give according to their ability. He chose to send Titus to finish the affair, because the latter had a tender concern for them, and along with him two other brethren of tried principle. He hopes that the Corinthians would verify his assertions, in other churches, respecting their liberality, for which reason he had sent forward the brethren, in order that the contribution might be made up at the time of his arrival among them. In exhorting and encouraging them to be liberal, they are reminded, that as they sowed in the present life, so they might expect to reap hereafter; and that their generosity would promote the honour of God as well as the advancement of Christianity.

III. Here Paul beseeches the Corinthians not to compel him to use severity at his coming among them, which he had full power to do. Against his opponents he asserts, that Christ had armed him with authority, and that he should exercise it against such as pretended that his letters alone had weight, his bodily presence being mean and his speech contemptible, so that he dared not *act* or speak so boldly when among them as he *wrote*

when absent. He does not boast, as some of his enemies had done, of the fruits of other men's labours; nor does he arrogate the credit of any thing which he had not really performed; but he hoped that through their instrumentality there would even be an extension of the kingdom of Christ to the surrounding regions. Yet he praises not himself on account of all that the Lord had done in him and by him. On the contrary, he glories only in God. He now asks their indulgence for venturing to boast of himself, which he does out of solicitude for them, lest they should become estranged from him by the representations of other teachers attempting to supersede his influence over them. He believes that he is not at all inferior to the false apostles. Though he might be regarded as unskilful in oratory, he was not deficient in knowledge. They had had abundant opportunities of proving his character. He refers them to his laborious, disinterested services in preaching the gospel *gratuitously*, averring his determination not to deviate from that course towards them, that his opponents might be deprived of all pretext for accusing him of unworthy motives. As for those adversaries, he charges them with deceitfulness, hypocrisy, and falsehood; and while continuing to boast a little he again apologises for speaking in a manner which many might think foolish. While claiming for himself qualifications and prerogatives equal to those his enemies pretended to, nay even greater than theirs, he gives a formidable catalogue of perils and calamities he had suffered for the gospel's sake, to which also he was still exposed. In the same strain of boasting, he alludes to the visions and revelations which had been vouchsafed to him, specifying one of them by way of example. But he soon leaves this ground, and returns to the mention of his infirmities. In excusing the boasting he had indulged in, he is brought to speak of the signs he had wrought among them when he planted the gospel in their midst, and of his perfect disinterestedness; conduct which he meant to follow. And not only did he act so himself, but the messengers he sent to them observed the same course, taking no temporal support from the Corinthians. All this he declares he had spoken, not so much from a wish to defend himself as for their edification, since he was greatly concerned about their spiritual condition. He was

afraid that their factions and parties were not wholly done away, and that some should still grieve him by retaining their former vices. After mentioning that he was about to visit them again, he announces the strict, unsparing procedure which he would observe at his coming. As they wanted a proof of the power of Christ in him, they should find him able to give it. But he exhorts them to examine and prove themselves, wishing that he might be spared the necessity of using severity towards them. The epistle concludes with recommending to them unity, peace, and love; and a prayer is presented, that the grace of Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit might be with them all.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

In treating of this epistle, we propose to take up the following topics:—

I. The History of the Galatians, and Introduction of Christianity among them.
II. Time and Place at which the Epistle was written.
III. Composition of the Galatian Churches.
IV. Their State when visited by Paul a second Time.
V. The Apostle's Adversaries in Galatia.
VI. Authenticity and Genuineness of the Letter.
VII. Its Contents.

I. *The history of the Galatians, and introduction of Christianity among them.*

Galatia or Gallograecia was a province of Asia Minor, bounded by Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. About the year 280 B. C. a numerous horde of Gauls, consisting of the Trocmi and Tlistoboii, and the Celtic or Germanic tribe of the Tectosagi, emigrated from Thrace, where they had settled, into Asia Minor. Their leaders were Leonorius and Lutarius, under whom they crossed the Bosphorus, having been invited by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to assist him against his brother, and afterwards rewarded by him with a part of Bithynia. But they were not easily restrained from incursions on their neighbours. They seized upon all that mountainous but very rich and fertile region which lies between the rivers Sangarius, Thymbris, and Halys. Here they caused great annoyance to neighbouring kingdoms.[a] As they became stronger and more

[a] See Mynster's kleine Theologische Schriften, p. 51, et seq.

numerous, they seized upon adjacent places, until about the year 240 B. C. they were driven back by Attalus, king of Pergamus, and confined to the fertile plains bordering on the Halys, between that river and the Sangarius. Here in ancient Phrygia they became incorporated with the Greeks, learned their language, and were called Gallograeci, or Grecian Gauls. They appear however to have retained their own language, customs, and institutions, for a long time; since Jerome in the fourth century says that their language was the same with that of the Treviri: "Unum est, quod inferimus . . . . . Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem paene habere quam Treviros," etc.[b] In public documents and inscriptions they used the Greek, although the Celtic seems to have been their vernacular and current tongue. In the year 189 B. C. they were brought under the Roman dominion by Cn. Manlius Vulso, but were still allowed to have their own princes. The last of these was Amyntas, who was murdered 26 B. C. Augustus then converted Galatia into a Roman province, governed by a Roman president.[c] Little is known of their ancient religion. It has been thought that they united the worship of Cybele, which they learned from the Phrygians, with that of the Gallic deities. It is certain that they had temples, although that was contrary to the custom of the Germanic and Gallic nations.[d] The commerce carried on in their chief towns drew a number of Jews to them, who, according to Josephus,[e] enjoyed considerable privileges. These Jews were doubtless solicitous to propagate their religion, and had made many proselytes (comp. 1 Peter i. 1).

The apostle visited Galatia twice, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, viz. on his second and third missionary journeys. The act of his planting Christianity in the country is thus noticed in the sixteenth chapter, sixth verse: "Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia," etc. This passage has appeared indefinite to some, because it does not *plainly*

[b] Prolegg. in Epist. ad Galat.
[c] Dio Cassius, 53, 26.
[d] Hug's Einleit. vol. ii. p. 304.
[e] Antiqq. xvi. 6. 2.

state that Paul and Timothy taught Christianity in Phrygia and Galatia. It has been even thought that the conclusion of the verse is opposed to the fact of their preaching in the two countries.[f] But this is a hasty inference. The terminating clause is not inconsistent with the supposition that the apostle proclaimed the word of God in Phrygia and Galatia, although these countries belonged to Asia, because the term *Asia* is taken in a restricted sense, denoting *Proconsular Asia*, not Asia Minor generally.[g] The mode in which the clause relative to the divine prohibition to preach in Asia is introduced, intimates with tolerable clearness that Paul had been preaching the word until that time in the districts through which he passed, and therefore in Galatia and Phrygia.

Macknight[h] thinks that the first time Paul preached in Galatia was after he had been sent to Tarsus to avoid the rage of the Jews in Jerusalem, as mentioned in Acts ix. 30. From Tarsus he went into Phrygia and Galatia, soon after his rapture. But the narrative gives no hint of such a visit. It is wholly without foundation.

When the apostle set forth on his third missionary journey from Antioch, he came *a second time* to Galatia, as related in Acts xviii. 23: "And after he had spent some time there [at Antioch] he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." The word ἐπιστηρίζων, *confirming*, presupposes that the inhabitants had been already converted to Christianity. Thus two visits to Galatia are distinctly marked.

It has been the opinion of some, *ex. gr.* Koppe, Keil, Hänlein, Mynster, Paulus, Niemeyer, Macknight, etc., that a journey prior to these two is intimated in Acts xiv. 6: "They [Paul and Barnabas] were ware of it and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about." These commentators, however, are not agreed in the explanation of the verse. Koppe, Keil, and Macknight, think that τὴν περίχωρον, *the region that lieth round about*, means Galatia; because, as

[f] So Koehler, Abfassungszeit, u. s. w. p. 8.

[g] See Bertholdt's Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 2781.

[h] Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, sect. i.

Macknight affirms,[i] Pliny[k] speaks of a part of Lycaonia as bordering on Galatia, and says it possessed fourteen cities, the most noted of which was Iconium. Strabo,[l] too, mentions a part of Lycaonia which lay contiguous to Phrygia; and it is well known that both Galatia and Phrygia were nigh Lycaonia. This explanation is unnatural, because contrary to the obvious sense of the passage. Agreeably to the context, περίχωρος denotes *the region round about Derbe and Lystra*, and that cannot be extended to Galatia, without comprehending a wide range of country. Derbe and Lystra lie at the other side of Lycaonia, away from Galatia, and not on the side of Lycaonia next it. When Paul was driven from Iconium, he came to Lystra and Derbe, *i. e.* towards the *south*. But Galatia was situated to the *north*, being separated from Lycaonia by Phrygia intervening.[m]

It is affirmed, moreover, that the Galatians were acquainted with Barnabas, because Paul writes to them, "insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation" (Gal. ii. 13). But Barnabas did not accompany Paul on his second missionary tour, and therefore the Galatians must have received an earlier visit from *both* than that alluded to in Acts xvi. 6, viz. one at the time referred to in Acts xiv. 6. In this manner Koppe[n] reasons.

But the words quoted from the epistle do not necessarily convey the idea that the Galatians had *seen* Barnabas, or formed a personal acquaintance with him. Doubtless these Christian converts had heard of him and of his labours in the gospel, which is all that the passage requires.

Again; it is further argued by Koppe and Keil,[o] that the object of Paul's second missionary journey, as noticed in Acts xv. 36, xvi. 4, 5, 6, was to *confirm* the churches, presupposing a previous visit.

[i] Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, sect. 1. [k] Nat. Hist. v. 27.

[l] Quoted by Cellarius, Geog. vol. ii. p. 201.

[m] See Winer's Commentary on the Ep. to the Galatians, Prolegomena, § 1. p. 5. 3rd ed.

[n] Prolegomena Epist. ad Galat. N. T. vol. vi. p. 8.

[o] Analekten für das Studium der Exeget. und Systemat. Theologie herausgegeben von Keil und Tzschirner, vol. iii. 2. p. 66, et seq.

But we reply, that the strengthening of the brethren was not *the only* object he had in view. While travelling at this time he preached the gospel in places where it had not been promulgated; for example, in Macedonia. He confirmed the disciples in the faith; but he also taught that faith for the first time to many. The two things are not incompatible. They are closely and naturally allied. Besides, an attentive examination of the words presented in Acts xvi. 6, 7 will shew, that the Galatians are not placed among those whose faith was *strengthened* on that occasion. Such as were confirmed are spoken of from chapter xv. 41 to xvi. 5. At the latter verse the subject is changed and the Galatians are introduced.

Others conceive that Lystra and Derbe, or the territory of Lycaonia, was included in *Galatia.* According to this opinion, *Galatia* proper is not denoted by the word περίχωρος, but rather Lystra and Derbe with the adjacent territory. In favour of this it has been said, that Lystra and Derbe belonged to the Galatian king Amyntas, as we learn from Dio Cassius;[p] and that Pliny assigns Lystra to Galatia.[q] Hence, according to the present hypothesis, the persons to whom the epistle before us was addressed should not be considered the inhabitants of Galatia proper, but chiefly of Derbe and Lystra. Able advocates have not been wanting to defend it. Mynster, Niemeyer, and Paulus have given it their sanction. Ulrich[r] and Böttger,[s] with greater ingenuity and learning, have stated every thing that can be supposed to uphold it. In the hands of the last two writers, it has assumed considerable importance. We shall glance at the main circumstances adduced in its favour, stating our reasons for rejecting it as a fanciful innovation.

1. Under the reign of Nero, all Asia Minor consisted of seven Roman provinces, viz. Asia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, and Pontus.[t] According to this allotment, Galatia certainly included Lycaonia with Derbe and Lystra, as

[p] XLIX. 32. p. 411.

[q] Nat. Hist. v. 32.

[r] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1836, Heft 2.

[s] Beiträge, Abtheilungen 1 und 3.

[t] See Böttger's Beiträge zur Historisch kritischen Einleit. in die Paulinischen Briefe, Erste Abtheilung, § 10. p. 23.

well as Pisidia; but if Pliny is to be believed, only one part of Lycaonia, another part belonging to Cilicia. If therefore the apostle adopted the Roman division, a part of Lycaonia may be reckoned to Galatia. But this arbitrary partition made by the Romans is not followed in the New Testament. At that time, it could hardly have come into general use. In the Acts of the Apostles, Lycaonia is mentioned *separately*, which could not have been, had the Roman division been followed (Acts xvi. 1 - 6; xviii. 23). Galatia proper is *distinguished from* Lycaonia; while Derbe and Lystra are expressly called cities of Lycaonia (xiv. 6). Hence the churches of Galatia cannot mean the Christian communities belonging to Lycaonia, especially those of Derbe and Lystra.

2. Nothing is said of the apostle's labours in preaching to the Galatians, but on the other hand copious particulars are given of his connexion with the Lycaonian churches. It is stated merely that he passed through Galatia (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23); whereas Luke expressly records the fact of Christian societies being formed in Derbe and Lystra. Hence it is more natural to think of the apostle as writing to churches among whom his labours are described, than to others of whose origin and locality no particulars are given in the New Testament.

An argumentum *a silentio* can prove nothing, especially as the book of Acts does not notice *all* Paul's journeys, or describe *all* the places in which he preached. It was not designed to exhibit a full and complete history of his multiplied labours in disseminating the doctrines of the cross. Besides, there is an indirect allusion at least to the apostolic activity in Galatia, in Acts xvi. 6, a passage obviously implying that Paul had preached in the province. We believe therefore, that Galatia proper is meant by the apostle; and that the churches of Galatia (Gal. ii. 1) designate communities formed in the principal towns, such as Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus, and Gordium.[u]

[u] See Rückert's very able refutation of Böttger, in his Magazin fuer Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Erste Lieferung, p. 97 - 112.

II. *Time and place at which the epistle was written.*

Great diversity of opinion exists with respect to the time and place at which the epistle was written. So great indeed is the difference of sentiment, that the letter has been placed at both extremes in point of date. According to some, it was *the first* written; according to others, it was *the last*. We shall mention the various hypotheses in the order of time.

1. Some few have supposed that it was written previously to the council at Jerusalem. So Weingart and Beza; the latter of whom conceives it to have been composed in Antioch, before Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem (Acts xiv. 28).

2. Macknight thinks that it was written from Antioch, after the council, and before St. Paul set out on his second missionary journey (Acts xv. 30).

3. Michaelis and Townsend think that it was written during the second missionary journey, perhaps from Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 1).

4. Drusius, L'Enfant, Beausobre, Lardner, Benson, Barrington, Tomline, and others suppose that it was composed at Corinth, during the apostle's residence there for the space of eighteen months (Acts xviii. 11).

5. Capellus, Witsius, Wall, Rosenmüller, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Hänlein, Rückert, Hug, Feilmoser, Schott, De Wette, Olshausen, Usteri, Winer, Neander, Burton, Greswell, Anger, Guerike, Meyer, Wieseler, etc. date it from Ephesus, when Paul was there a second time and staid nearly three years (Acts xix. 1).

6. Grotius, Fabricius, Pearson, and Stein date it from Corinth, during Paul's second visit to the city (Acts xx. 2, 3).

7. Mill thinks that it was written from Troas, as Paul was going to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6).

8. Theodoret dates it from Rome, agreeably to the subscription. So also Flacius, Sixtus of Siene, Baronius, Bullinger, Hunnius, Lightfoot, Calov, Hammond.

Marcion held that it was the first of Paul's epistles. So too in modern times Michaelis, Baumgarten, Zachariae, Schmidt, Mynster, Niemeyer, Koppe, Keil, Böttger, and Ulrich. But there is no good reason for such an opinion. It cannot be defended. All

who argue for so early a date must first shew that Christianity was planted in the country of Galatia much earlier than is commonly assumed. And even if they could prove this, it would afford nothing more than *a presumption* in favour of a very early date for the epistle. Its bearing on the question of writing would be somewhat distant and indirect.

It is not very certain whether any except Koehler and Schrader have pronounced it *the last* of all Paul's epistles. The former brings it down to A. D. 69, two years after Nero's death, by a series of arbitrary assumptions, which have been sufficiently refuted by Schott[x] and Rückert.[y] One of these untenable assumptions may serve for an example. He assumes that Acts xviii. 23 gives an account of *the first* preaching of the gospel in Galatia; but surely the phrase, *strengthening all the disciples*, implies that Christianity had been already planted in the country. The latter, who maintains only one Roman imprisonment, dates it A. D. 64. This hypothesis is closely connected with the writer's chronological arrangement of the epistles. During the apostle's long sojourn at Ephesus (Acts xix), it is supposed that he made a journey to Jerusalem, which is inserted by Schrader between the twentieth and twenty-first verses of the nineteenth chapter. It is this journey from Ephesus which he identifies with the one mentioned in Gal. ii. 1: "Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also." But when Paul went to Ephesus, he had been some time separated from Barnabas (Acts xv. 36, etc.); and throughout the entire history there is not a word of their having again travelled together. Here again Schott,[z] followed by Rückert,[a] has taken great pains to refute Schrader's hypothesis. Both Koehler and Schrader carry the ancient view to excess. Jerome, Theodoret, and others looked upon the epistle as *the first* of those written

[x] Erörterung einiger wichtigen chronologischen Punkte, u. s. w. § 6, pp. 39 - 47.

[y] Eroerterungen ueber das ganze des Briefes, at the end of his Commentar, p. 318, et seq.

[z] Erörterungen, u. s. w. § 7.

[a] Eroerterungen, u. s. w. at the end of his Commentary on the Epistle, p. 316, et seq.

during the Roman captivity, the former appealing for proof to such passages as iv. 20, vi. 11, 17. In the time of Euthalius, this opinion had found its way into the MSS., and prevailed in the Syrian church. But the appeal in its favour usually made to vi. 17, where the writer is said to allude to his impending death and the suffering he endured immediately before it, is vain. The words of Paul *properly understood* do not support it. The apostle was *continually* persecuted by the Jews; and it is arbitrary to confine the marks of the sufferings in his body, which he mentions, to *Rome*, as if they must have been received *there* and no where else.

Rejecting extreme opinions, it will materially contribute to the ascertainment of the correct date to inquire, whether the epistle was written between the first and second visits to the country, or after the latter.

L'Enfant, Beausobre, Benson, and others think that nothing is said in the epistle of Paul being more than once in Galatia. Lardner accedes to their view of the point, and dates it accordingly somewhat early. In proof of this, much stress is laid on the words οὕτως ταχέως, in the sixth verse of the first chapter: "I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel." This language, it is thought, implies that the epistle must have been written a short time after Paul had preached in Galatia. But the phrase in question, *so soon*, is too slender a basis on which an argument of this kind should be built. Some explain it of the *suddenness* of the change, or *the quickness* with which it took place. So Schott, Burton, and others. If this view of its meaning be correct, it will not at all favour *the date soon after the first visit.* But we think it more natural to refer ταχέως to *time intervening* than to *the rapidity* of the alteration effected. But even so, there is nothing in the phrase itself requiring its restriction to *a first* more than to *a second* visit. If the epistle were composed *immediately after* his *second* visit, οὕτως ταχέως would be equally applicable. The epistle itself contains no clear indication that it was written immediately after the conversion of the Galatians. On the contrary, it intimates the reverse.

Hug, Rückert, Olshausen, Burton, Winer, Greswell, and Anger

confidently refer to Gal. iv. 13, for proof that Paul had been twice in Galatia before sending the letter. "Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you *at the first*." Here the phrase τὸ πρότερον, translated *at the first*, is appealed to. But it is difficult to see how the phrase, with its context, implies both an earlier and a later visit. As far as it is concerned, Paul may have been but *once* among the Galatians. It does not mean the first time *in opposition to* the second, but *formerly, before*. The expression occurs in the gospel by John (vi. 62; ix. 8), neither of which passages countenances the notion that it means *a first time*, implying *a second*. The usage of τὸ πρότερον in other places overpowers the argument of Greswell,[b] deduced from the parallels τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ πάλιν, τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, in favour of a second visit. Rückert[c] says, that it can only signify *one of two times*, because if the writer had intended to say *once before*, he would have used πρότερον without the article; if *the first time* generally, he would have said πρῶτον; if *for the first time*, in distinction from several others, he would have said τὸ πρῶτον. The apostle however was not so minutely attentive to his language as this kind of reasoning implies; and the phraseology of John at least, who is the only other sacred author that employs the same phrase, is adverse to the idea advocated by Rückert and Greswell. We agree therefore with Schleiermacher and De Wette in affirming, that the phrase does not *necessarily* suppose a second visit; although in connexion with the verb εὐηγγελισάμην it certainly agrees better with that hypothesis. Greswell finds also an allusion to a second visit in the participle ἐπιχορηγῶν (Gal. iii. 5), which he understands of some *second* supply of the gifts of the spirit *in addition to a first*, and such as might be imparted by Paul on a *second* visit. The preposition however may be and probably is merely *intensive*. Much more probable are the allusions to a second visit in the passages iv. 16 and v. 21: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"—"Of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." The first passage

[b] Dissertations, etc. vol. iv. p. 177. [c] See his Commentary on the verse.

should be rendered, "Am I therefore hated by you because *I told* you the truth?" The present participle *ἀληθεύων* refers *to the past*, the time when he was with them once again. In the second passage, the verb *προεῖπον* refers to what the writer had said when he was among the Galatians; and the context shews that his second visit, not his first, was the period in question. Thus the epistle, though not containing so many intimations of having been composed subsequently to the second visit as some imagine, contains a few hints in favour of that opinion.

Had not the epistle been written after the second visit, the errorists could scarcely have possessed sufficient time to work against the apostle. The great change which had taken place in the sentiments of the Galatian converts required time for its development. The errors into which they had fallen were not imbibed at once. The false teachers could scarcely have been in Galatia before Christianity had been planted in the country. They came thither after Paul had sowed the true seed of the word. And if the apostle had met with such errors on his first visit he could scarcely have expressed his surprise at the Galatians having been drawn away from the faith so soon (i. 6; iii. 1). This surprise cannot well be accounted for on the supposition that he had visited the churches but once. It occasioned an outburst of righteous indignation, as the letter evinces. The information was therefore quite unexpected. The epistle too must have contained in that case some indications of his having opposed and combated them when he was present.

If therefore the epistle was written after Paul's second visit, it must be put after the point of time specified in xviii. 23. Hence the place at which it was composed was probably Ephesus. In this city he remained for a length of time; and had an opportunity there of receiving intelligence from the Galatian churches.

Perhaps the first epistle to the Corinthians, which was written from Ephesus, furnishes confirmation of the opinion that the present one was dated from the same place. There is a remarkable passage in the Corinthian epistle, which harmonises well with this supposition, if Burton's conjecture be right.[d] We refer

[d] On the Chronology of St. Paul's Epistles. Theological Works, vol. iv. p. 69, et seq.

to 1 Cor. xvi. 1: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye." This injunction respecting a collection is not found in the Galatian epistle. Hence Capellus conjectured, that the epistle to the Galatians was written immediately before that to the Corinthians; that Paul gave the bearer a verbal message relative to the money; and that the injunction being fresh in his mind when he began to compose the letter to the Corinthians, gave rise to the allusion. Burton adopts the supposition as a probable one. Perhaps there is as much ingenuity as truth in it; for when the apostle paid his last visit to the Galatians, he may have given directions about the collection. Yet there is some similarity between various passages in the two epistles, shewing the same train of thought to have been in the writer's mind when composing them. In both he alludes to his infirmity in the flesh (Gal. iv. 13. 1 Cor. ii. 3). Some individuals at Corinth had doubted or denied his apostleship, to whom he alludes in 1 Cor. ix. 1-3. Similar objections had been made to him in Galatia, and therefore he copiously refutes them at the commencement of the Galatian epistle. The same proverb is quoted in Gal. v. 9 and 1 Cor. v. 6. Compare also Gal. v. 6 and vi. 15 with 1 Cor. vii. 19.

In addition to these remarks it should be observed, that οὕτως ταχέως in i. 6 favours Ephesus more than any other place, on the supposition that the letter was written after the second visit. The apostle abode there more than two years; and if he heard *very soon* of the Galatian apostasy, it is improbable that he should have allowed a long period to elapse before he wrote about the defection.

If the preceding observations be founded on truth, they serve to disprove an earlier as well as a later date. Composed at Ephesus, the epistle must be referred to A. D. 55.

We shall now examine the principal arguments which militate against the opinion we have espoused. They are generally negative and indirect, such as have been adduced to prove that the epistle was written elsewhere, or at another time. Or, they rest on the silence of the sacred author regarding circumstances whose omission is considered strange if our hypothesis be correct.

1. It has been urged, that there is no mention in the second

chapter of the epistle of the council at Jerusalem, at which it was decreed that the Gentiles should not be compelled to observe the law of Moses as necessary to salvation (Acts xv). And yet the decrees of that assembly would have served the writer's purpose, because they are strongly condemnatory of the Judaising teachers whom he opposes. Whence then Paul's silence in regard to them? Does not the omission imply that the letter was written before the council?

In answer to this argument we observe, that the convention at Jerusalem did not effect perfect unanimity of sentiment between Jewish and Gentile christians. It did not extinguish Pharisaic modes of thought. Though it repressed for a time the Judaising spirit, many were unconvinced by its decisions. The Hebrew christians probably regarded its decrees as of temporary obligation. Perhaps they did not look on them as perpetually binding or authoritative, but simply as a temporary provision to preserve the church's unity. The apostle knew, that the hostile party were not silenced by the decrees of the council.[e] In other places besides Galatia, a re-action proceeded from that party against the free spirit of the council's letter. The distance too of many Gentile churches from Jerusalem favoured the Judaisers in disclosing nothing about the convention. They continued to quote the authority of the apostles in favour of circumcision, especially the names of James and Peter, in opposition to Paul, whom they depreciated and hated. Since then the determination of the council had proved ineffectual in preventing the Galatians from entanglement in the yoke of ritual performances, *if indeed they had heard of it*, the apostle, without reverting to it, insists on his own apostolic commission, urging various arguments to convince his erring readers. It should be remembered also, that Paul was not wont to defer to the authority of his fellow-apostles in any of his writings. He was conscious that he had been immediately called by Christ and endowed with extraordinary gifts. It would have been not only contrary to his method, but irrelevant to his purpose, to have done so on the

[e] See Schott, Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas, Prolegomena, p. 298, et seq.

present occasion. Here it was necessary to insist on his own apostleship and supernatural illumination. He takes up the matter of dispute between himself and the Judaisers as one of principle. Standing on this high ground and not on authority, he refutes the corrupters of the gospel. *They* might appeal to names or resort to decisions, where they could do so with the shadow of truth; but the apostle of the Gentiles, instead of adducing the decrees enacted at Jerusalem, asserts his own independence as a preacher of the truth, and the power which accompanied the proclamation of his gospel among the Gentiles as an evidence of its divinity. Hence he goes much farther in the epistle than the tenor of the decree. He states the great principle of justification by faith in Christ as entirely opposed to justification by outward observances. The decision of the council was, that the Gentile converts should not be required to keep the Mosaic law in order to their full recognition as Christians; while Paul, agreeably to his mode of refuting error, affirms a great doctrine—an essential principle in the Christian system—which virtually confutes every other method of salvation than that proceeding from faith in a crucified Saviour.[f]

2. The journey of Paul to Jerusalem, noticed in chap. ii. 1, has also been adduced in favour of the hypothesis that the epistle was written prior to the council at Jerusalem. This can only be done by those who think that the journey spoken of in the Galatian epistle is not noticed by Luke in the Acts, or that it is identical with the one mentioned in Acts xi. 30. In another place[g] we have endeavoured to shew, that the journey alluded to in the epistle is identical with that spoken of in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, at which the writer went up to the council. If so the epistle was written *after* the consultation.

3. The inscription of the epistle is adduced, in which it is stated that all the brethren who were with Paul joined with him in writing. They united in attesting the facts stated in the first and second chapters for the purpose of proving his apostleship. They must therefore have known the truth of these facts, independently of Paul's own testimony. Hence it is argued that

[f] See above, pp. 118, 119.

[g] See p. 112, et seq.

they could belong to no other Gentile city than Antioch, because the brethren there had intercourse with those of Jerusalem, and must have been acquainted with what happened to the apostle at that place. So Macknight reasons.[h]

The argument rests on the assumption, that "the only view with which any of the brethren could join the apostle in writing to the Galatians, was to attest the facts adduced for the sake of proving his apostleship in the two first chapters." This ground is both narrow and insecure. It is rash to assert, that such was the *only* view with which any of the brethren could join the apostle. In other epistles, some of the brethren are associated with him in friendly salutations to churches, as Sosthenes, Silvanus, and Timothy, without conveying the idea that in so doing they attested facts, as independent witnesses. It was an expression of their agreement with the apostle in doctrine and sentiment, as well as of their Christian regard for the communities addressed. In the present instance, *all the brethren* are mentioned, probably, as Jerome thinks, for the purpose of imparting greater weight to the epistle. Cordially attached as they were to the apostle's person, and recognising his divine commission, they were not ashamed to appear on his side, and to unite with him in addressing the Galatians. The believers residing at any place where Paul was, Troas, Corinth, or Ephesus, may have been thus associated with him in his epistolary communication to the churches of Galatia. And the conviction that he was a true apostle need not have been derived from intercourse with the brethren at Jerusalem. Circumstances were sufficiently strong to induce such as had never been in the capital of Judea to acknowledge his apostleship. And those who never spoke with the Christians of Jerusalem could well admit the same fact. The nature of his teaching, the power accompanying it, the extraordinary gifts he possessed, his whole conduct, impressed men with the belief that he had been divinely called by the Author of Christianity, and supernaturally fitted for propagating and defending the truth. Even though they rested on his own testimony in receiving the leading facts of his previous history, they

[h] Preface to the Ep. to the Galatians, § ii. 2.

may have united with him on the present occasion for the purpose of shewing, that they implicitly believed his divine commission and relied on his statement of Christian doctrine as infallibly correct.

Michaelis, who supposes the epistle to have been written during the interval which elapsed between Paul's departure from Galatia and his departure from Thessalonica, rests the weight of his proof in favour of that early date on the fact, that the brethren associated with him in writing were the same who accompanied him when he left Galatia, and such as were known to his readers without further description. These brethren therefore were Silas, Timothy, and others who remained with him till he left Thessalonica.[1]

It should be observed, that the term *brethren* is not appropriated in the New Testament to preachers of the gospel, whether apostles, evangelists, or others, in contradistinction to Christians generally. *All* believers, whether such as were exclusively employed in making known Christianity, or such as were humble hearers and believers of it, were equally denominated *brethren.* That all the brethren joined with Paul in writing to the Galatians were known to the latter, is neither required nor implied by the way in which they are mentioned. The Christians of any place who had been converted by Paul, and continued well-affected towards him, might readily unite with him in expressing their regard for the Christians of another city; and they would do so especially in circumstances like those sustained by the apostle when he wrote to the Galatians. *That* was a time at which his friends would adhere to him all the more closely, and feel a livelier interest in upholding his character.

4. It is urged by others, that the epistle was written *soon after* the council at Jerusalem, because Paul's apostleship, which the Judaisers had denied, was recognised on that important occasion. Peter, James, and John then gave him the right hand of fellowship. They counted his authority equal to their own. As soon therefore as the brethren of any church became acquainted with the transactions of the council, they could listen to none who

[1] Introduction to the N. T. translated by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 10.

called his apostolic character in question. Hence Antioch is fixed on as the place where our letter was composed, whither the apostle repaired *immediately after* the council. This argument contains nothing which contradicts the supposition that the letter was written at Ephesus. The brethren belonging to this place may have heard of the decision at Jerusalem, but not minutely. Many of the particulars narrated in the epistle they probably did not know by report. And should they have even heard all the transactions by which Paul's authority was vindicated—a supposition by no means likely—yet in consequence of the insinuations of the Judaising teachers they may have lost the impression originally made on their minds by the report of those distant events. It is not remarkable that the false teachers should have undermined his apostleship among the Galatian converts, even though the latter knew what had happened at Jerusalem. Their character, their principles, and their undeviating hostility to the advocate of Gentile freedom, shew what they were capable of. They did not hesitate to propound impudent falsehoods to promote their selfish purposes. But indeed it is quite improbable that the Galatian christians had learned the particulars contained in the first and second chapters before he wrote to them. The distance of Galatia from Jerusalem, and the slowness with which information was then transmitted, indicate that the believers in that district had not heard of the transactions at Jerusalem. Hence we see the fulness and particularity with which everything affecting his apostleship and the independent source of his gospel are narrated.

5. "That the epistle to the Galatians was written after the council of Jerusalem, and before St. Paul set out from Antioch on his second apostolical journey, appears from his not giving the Galatians any exhortation therein, or direction concerning the collection for the saints. At the time Paul went into Galatia from Tarsus, he does not seem to have planned that collection. Neither had he it in view when he went into Phrygia and Galatia with Barnabas from Lycaonia. What first suggested the idea to him was, if I mistake not, the exhortation of the apostles when they gave him the right hand of fellowship, and agreed that he should go among the Gentiles, namely, *that he would*

remember the poor; that is, remember to make collections among the converted Gentiles for the poor of the saints in Judea. Or, he may have formed the resolution in consequence of some conversation on the subject which he had with the three apostles before he left Jerusalem. But in whatever manner it originated, as Paul doth not seem to have formed that resolution till he went up to the council and conversed with the other apostles, he could not with propriety mention it to the Galatians in any letter, till he had explained the matter to them in conversation. And this I doubt not the apostle did, when he carried to them the decrees of the council in his second apostolical journey through Phrygia and Galatia. And the Galatians having agreed to make the collections, he directed them in what manner to make them with the least inconvenience to themselves; and no doubt received from them their collections, when *he went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order*, in his way to Ephesus, as mentioned (Acts xviii. 23). Or, if any of the Galatian and Phrygian churches had not then finished their collections, they may have sent them to him during his three years' abode in Ephesus. These things I infer from the following circumstance: in his first epistle to the Corinthians (chapter xvi. 1, 2), which was written from Ephesus, after he had gone over all the country of Phrygia in order, he mentioned the directions concerning the method of making the collections, which he had given to the Galatians before he wrote that letter; and desired the Corinthians to follow these directions in making their collections. Wherefore, as he had not after that to go into Galatia, but went from Ephesus to Corinth, and from Corinth straightway to Jerusalem with the collections, he must have received the collections of the Galatian churches in the manner I have described."[k]

We have quoted this paragraph at length, because the argument proposed in it is so obscurely propounded, so loosely constructed, that we are not sure of understanding it correctly. One thing it implies, which, if incorrectly assumed, vitiates the force of the whole. It is taken for granted, that the idea of Paul's making a collection for the saints did not suggest itself to his mind

[k] Preface to the Ep. to the Galatians, § ii. 3.

before he met the apostles at Jerusalem. This however is not necessarily implied in the words of the tenth verse, second chapter: "Only they would that we should remember the poor; *the same which I was* [*have been*] *also forward to do.*" It should be recollected, that he and Barnabas had previously carried contributions from Antioch to Jerusalem, as is related in Acts xi. 29, 30; and it is no unlikely supposition, that such had been promoted by the exhortations or advice of the bearers. Thus the argument, if we apprehend it rightly, falls to the ground, since it rests mainly on an unproved hypothesis.

III. *Composition of the Galatian churches.*

It has been stated, that the Jews had made proselytes from among the heathen Galatians. These proselytes however constituted a small proportion of the members. The greater number of the believers to whom the epistle is addressed had been heathens. Many of them doubtless had known something of the Jewish doctrines, and may have been favourably disposed towards their reception. Some at least had been proselytes. A few of the Galatian christians were Jews by descent. The Jews were addressed first by Paul, as in other places; and from among them he must have got his earliest converts. It is singular that Schneckenburger[1] should deny the existence of Jews in the leading cities of Galatia, because the opposite is proved from Josephus, is implied in the beginning of Peter's first epistle, and is presupposed in the epistle before us (iii. 2-13; iv. 3, 21). Hence his opinion that there were none but heathen converts, cannot be maintained, though Baur[m] seems inclined to adopt it. The greater number however had once been heathen. The apostle writes to them as such. He asserts that the heathen are justified by faith (iii. 8); that his readers had formerly served idols (iv. 8); and that among them were many still uncircumcised (v. 2; vi. 13). The fact that they were inclined to the observance of the law, and familiar with Jewish ideas and modes of interpretation, is manifest from the epistle; but this will not prove they were once native

[1] Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte, pp. 104, 105.

[m] Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, u. s. w. pp. 252, 253.

Jews. They were heathen converts, on whom zealous Jews had laboured to produce an impression in favour of Mosaic institutions. Exposed as they were to the combined influences of Jews and Judaisers, some exhibited a strong disposition towards the religion of the ancient economy; or had even become proselytes. Imperfectly acquainted with the great truths of Christianity, and observing the direct antagonism in which this new religion stood to their former modes of thought and life, it is natural to suppose that they should be less averse to a system of outward ceremonies which presented slight points of contact with the habits and prejudices they had imbibed from infancy. Thus the churches in Galatia consisted mainly of those who had been converted directly from Paganism to Christianity. Such as had been Jewish proselytes were fewer; and the smallest proportion consisted of Jews by descent, who had renounced their Judaism for the simple faith of Christ.

IV. *Their state when visited by Paul a second time.*

The state of the Galatian churches at the time of Paul's second visit compared with that in which he had left them, has been variously represented. Formerly it was commonly believed that he found everything encouraging. They had not yielded to any attempt made with a view to deprive them of their Christian freedom, but remained steadfast in their attachment to the faith. Accordingly it is stated in the Acts of the Apostles that he *confirmed* the brethren, imprinting anew on their minds the important lessons he had before inculcated respecting justification by faith alone. But in modern times this opinion has receded in a good degree before another. Several able commentators have given a different representation of the condition in which Paul found the churches when he came to them a second time. Hemsen, Rückert, Usteri, Schott, Credner, Neudecker, Olshausen, and others have stated the matter as follows:—

Between the first and second visits it may be supposed that Paul's enemies, the Judaisers, were not idle. Yet their hatred to him was not stirred up to any considerable height. His prudent and wise accommodation to the weakness of Judaism, as also his

carrying of contributions to the poor Hebrew christians at Jerusalem, may have helped to soften their prejudices and to restrain violent opposition to his person and doctrines. But some attempts had been made during his absence to inculcate upon the converts observance of the Mosaic law, and thus to deprive them of gospel freedom. The germ of the errors into which they afterwards fell had certainly appeared. The Galatian christians had been affected to some extent by the persuasions of the Judaising teachers. On this supposition alone can such passages as Gal. i. 9, iv. 12-18, v. 3-21 be satisfactorily explained. The apostle had seen the leaven which had been fermenting in his absence. The state of things was by no means sound or satisfactory when he went a second time; and he doubtless did all in his power to prevent the further development of those pernicious principles which had already taken root, and which if not checked would prove ruinous to the peace and purity of the newly formed societies. Accordingly he rebuked the perverse maxims of the false teachers, exposed their corruption of the gospel, and put a stop for the time to the incipient apostasy of the Galatian converts. Animated by the presence of the apostle, strengthened and reassured in the true faith, their doubts were removed, and the insinuations to which they had lent too favourable an ear dislodged from their minds. But his reproofs equally with his earnest endeavours to eradicate the errors in question had nothing more than a *temporary* effect. Their influence soon passed away. The evil broke out in a form at once distressing and aggravated. He had repressed it for a season, without removing it for ever. Such is the view which has now obtained considerable currency in modern times, and of which Rückert[n] is regarded the ablest expositor. It is necessary however to attend to the basis on which it rests; for many are exceedingly ingenious in constructing hypotheses with slender materials. In such theological architecture the Germans are particularly skilful. The passages quoted are Gal. i. 9, iv. 18, etc., v. 3-21. We shall glance at them separately.

"As we said before, so say I now *again*, If any man preach

[n] Commentar, u. s. w. p. 308, et seq.

any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed."

The words ὡς προειρήκαμεν are referred to the time of his last, *i. e.* his second visit, and the strong statement with which they are connected, "If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," is thought to imply that some one had preached before the time they were uttered another gospel contrary to Paul's, to which the Galatians had listened with favour. It is possible however that the statement of the verse may allude to that of the preceding one, of which it is merely a repetition. Yet it is more probable that the allusion is to something he had said when last among the Galatians. But it involves no more than *the existence* of Judaising christians, who may have endeavoured to lead the believers astray by inculcating a pharisaic Judaism opposed to the free spirit of Christianity, *if indeed it imply thus much.* Certainly there is nothing here to justify the conclusion that the converts *had imbibed*, either *wholly* or *in part*, the false dogmas of these teachers, or that they had submitted to circumcision in order that they might be raised to the same fancied level with the Jewish christians. It does not say that the apostle had come into collision with his opponents.

"But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you, I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you."

Great diversity of opinion exists as to the true meaning of this difficult passage. It is not necessary for our present purpose to detail the various expositions which have been proposed. The writer wishes his readers to be equally zealous in a good cause, in his absence as in his presence, expresses the extreme anxiety he felt till they should be established in the Christian doctrine, and then affirms that he could wish to be present with them now and to change his voice so as to adapt it to their peculiar circumstances, because he was uncertain about their exact state. Here the terms ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου imply, that all had been well with them when he last saw them. The change in their

condition, which now required a change in his voice, had been effected since that visit; and his being in perplexity about them *now*, argues that he was not *then* in the like perplexity. Those who refer these expressions to his *first* and not his *second* visit, do so arbitrarily, since no unbiassed reader would think of such allusion.

"For I testify *again* to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. . . . . Of the which I tell you before, *as I have also told you in time past*, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

Here the word *again* may shew simply that the writer repeats in this verse what he had just stated in the preceding one. Perhaps however he alludes to his *former* testimony among the Galatians which was to the same effect as *this* his *written* asseveration. That testimony need not have been based on *the actual manifestations* of submission on the part of the converts to the ceremonial yoke. Viewing the prospective danger of the believers, it is highly probable that Paul saw fit to warn them against the machinations of Judaisers. The twenty-first verse furnishes no appropriate evidence of that which it is adduced to prove. The apostle had *always* occasion to warn his readers and hearers against practical ungodliness as excluding men from the kingdom of God.

In opposition to this hypothesis we may now quote the words in Gal. i. 6: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel," intimating that shortly after he had visited them the last time, they had departed from the faith he taught. Surely this shews that they had not been previously estranged from his person or doctrine. How could he be astonished now at a phenomenon he is supposed to have witnessed when he was among them? Another passage which may be employed for the same purpose is Gal. iv. 13-15: "Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first; and my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? For I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes and

have given them to me." If we are right in taking τὸ πρότερον to mean *formerly*, including his first and second visits—the time preceding the act of writing, without confining it to *the first*—then the passage clearly conveys the idea that the Galatians gladly received his message and respected his person; nor does any alienation of their affection from him seem to have arisen from their yielding to false teachers. The description of their attention to himself and his message embraces *all* the visits he made to them before he wrote, after learning their apostasy. There is nothing in the passage itself to limit τὸ πρότερον to *one part* of the time antecedent to writing.

We believe therefore that no defection had taken place at the time of Paul's second visit. The faith which the Galatians had received they had kept uncorrupted. They stood however at that crisis in peculiar danger of being seduced. Hence the apostle, seeing their danger, warned them against Judaisers. He strengthened them in the great principles of gospel purity and freedom, that they might be able to resist the persons whose presence among them he could not but apprehend. He could not have left them without solicitude. He could not banish all uneasiness from his thoughts in regard to them. He who watched over all the churches with parental care, especially those he had himself planted, must have been anxious about the Galatian converts.

The utmost then that can be conceded to the recent interpreters already named is, that the errors combated in the epistle existed in essence at the time of his second visit, but had not been developed. The apostle did not combat them then, because they had not made their appearance distinctly and openly. But he saw that the germ of them *was likely to create* mischief, and did what he could to prevent it from unfolding itself after his departure. He fortified the minds of the converts against machinations insinuating in their aspect and pernicious in their result. He took precautions to render the designs of his enemies abortive. The Judaisers were planning their operations. They were secretly preparing for their work when he left Galatia. Unequivocal symptoms of apostasy appeared soon after the false teachers had come forth openly among the Galatians. The

Judaisers, who may have waited for his departure, not daring to discover themselves in their real character while he was present, or, which is more probable, who were sent from some other place by the anti-Pauline party after he went away, applied themselves so zealously to the work on which they were intent, that they speedily drew away many from the faith, persuading them to submit to the law of Moses and be circumcised. We refer οὕτως ταχέως (i. 6) to *time*. The apostasy happened not long after his second visit, or rather, not long after the false teachers had made their appearance in Galatia. The words of iv. 18 do not contradict the fact that the epistle was written not long after the second visit, though Credner strangely asserts that they *are* adverse to it.[o]

V. *The apostle's adversaries in Galatia.*

The Judaising teachers held, that obligation to observe the Mosaic law lay not only on the Jewish but the Gentile christians. The decision of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not avail to break up their rigid notions in regard to the strict observance of legal precepts, although it went clearly to shew that the Mosaic law was no longer binding, and therefore no longer needful for the procurement of salvation. Probably it moderated their extreme tendencies, as has been already observed, without removing them. In proportion as they still insisted on the outward and the moral, did they neglect the inward and spiritual, assuming the character of a *sect* by their exclusiveness. The apostle Paul, who had the most liberal views of gospel freedom in connexion with gospel purity, maintained that Jewish as well as Gentile christians were delivered from the yoke of legal enactments. He knew that the genuine tendency of the gospel was to set aside the externalities of law, by introducing Jew and Gentile alike into a region of spiritual liberty. Such however were his prudence and wise adaptation to circumstances, that he did not demand Jewish christians to forget the dispensation to which they had been attached. He did not at once put himself in an attitude of direct opposition to the prejudices of such persons, with rash and

[o] Enleit. in das Neue Testament, p. 360.

revolutionary spirit. He left it to time to clear away their prepossessions and unfold the perfect genius of the gospel, so that all lingering adherence to Judaism might gradually dissolve in the brightening atmosphere of gospel freedom. In his conduct we have a fine example of consummate prudence in his becoming all things to his own countrymen as far as he could do so consistently with his office and character. Among Gentiles, he did not think of conformity to the law of Moses, but enjoined that freedom which the gospel confers. On the other hand, in the society of Jews he observed the law, lest needless offence might be given. Hence his conduct was liable to misrepresentation. It furnished ready occasion to the misconstruction of his enemies. The Judaising party affirmed accordingly that he taught the abrogation of the Mosaic law, maintaining in addition that he was inconsistent with himself. Because again he did not directly pronounce adherence to Judaism essentially *sinful*, he was censured by the rash-minded of the Gentile christians who wished at once and for ever to discountenance every semblance of restraint arising from a vanishing economy. He was blamed for teaching the people to make light of a divine institute—for encouraging disrespect to the authority of Moses—because his general conduct, especially in the company of Gentile christians, was conformed to the gospel's genuine spirit. From this Judaising tendency—a tendency essentially pharisaic in its nature—Paul encountered much opposition. Insisting as it did on the obligatory nature of the law on Gentile as well as Jewish christians, it was opposed to the essential principles of true Christianity.

But who were the principal organs of the anti-Pauline party in Palestine among the Galatian churches? The external party had probably sent a few emissaries into Galatia who *began* the strong Judaising tendency. They must have speedily gained converts from among the Galatians themselves, who became the most influential and active Judaisers. Were these latter *Gentile christians* who submitted to circumcision at the time the Judaising teachers who had come from a distance manifested their activity in gaining converts; or, were they such as had been proselytes from the heathen before the introduction of Christi-

anity into Galatia; or, were they Jews by birth? It is important to mark the precise points of difference between these three views.

1. According to the first hypothesis, they were recent converts from among the Gentile christians to the sentiments of the party which had its principal seat in Palestine. From being believers in simple Christianity, they had been persuaded to associate Judaism with it, maintaining that both must be adopted as necessary to salvation.

2. According to the second, they were proselytes from among the heathen to Judaism before Christianity had been planted in the country; they had then embraced the gospel but were induced to unite their former with their new faith. Thus this opinion implies that they had been once Jews. The preceding does not involve the same idea.

3. According to the third hypothesis, they were Jews by extraction, who, after embracing Christianity, were the more easily induced to return, partially at least, to their ancient faith, and submit to its injunctions, though at the same time retaining their new creed.

It is difficult to decide between the comparative merits of these views. Neander advocates the first. Olshausen approves of the third. The decision must rest mainly on the true reading and interpretation of one passage in the epistle, viz. Gal. vi. 12, 13. "As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh they constrain you to be circumcised only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; but desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your flesh." The reading *περιτετμημένοι* adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Scholz favours *the third* hypothesis, and also *the second, if they were proselytes of righteousness;* whereas the common reading *περιτεμνόμενοι* favours *the first.* *Περιτεμνόμενοι* would be awkward and unusual, if the third opinion be true; while *περιτετμημένοι* would be equally awkward applied to the first. In view of the authorities and circumstances adduced for the rival readings—for the present participle and the passive participle respectively—the former appears to deserve the preference. So far therefore as the

text is concerned the *first* hypothesis claims our assent. The present participle shews that some had already been circumcised, others were on the point of being so. The same view is favoured by the words, "Neither they themselves keep the law." Those who had grown up in heathenism would find it difficult to keep the law; while others accustomed to the routine of Jewish observances would find it comparatively easy. If they had been recent proselytes to Jewish sentiments they would be peculiarly zealous for the party to which they had attached themselves, and would prove more insinuating and efficacious in drawing away their countrymen than individuals of the Jewish christian character. Neander[p] also thinks, that we can explain more naturally on the first hypothesis the singular term ἀποκόψονται (v. 12), one of the impassioned words employed against the seducers: "If they are so very anxious for *circum*cision, let them have *ex*cision also. Perhaps the one is not enough for them; let them carry out their intemperate zeal to still greater length by practising *excision*." On the whole, this hypothesis is more plausible and probable than the second. Our choice lies between it and the third.

In regard to the last opinion, it is quite possible to explain the language of the passage of *Jewish christians*; and were περιτετμημένοι indubitably the right reading, we should be inclined to agree with Olshausen. But it is too like a correction of the received reading to be implicitly adopted. Some may infer that they were *Jewish christians*, from the analogy of other epistles where similar persons are described, particularly from the second epistle to the Corinthians, which must have been written at no distant time from the date of the present. The fact that these very persons did not *themselves* keep the law, has been partly explained by Matthew xxiii. 4: "For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." Thus *the hypocrisy* of the Jewish christians is condemned by Paul. Like the Scribes and Pharisees, they endeavoured to im-

[p] Planting and Training of the Christian Church, etc. English trans. vol. i. p. 257.

pose on others what they did not practise themselves. They who were so zealous for ceremonial observances did not themselves adhere to the round of ordinances prescribed. It is thus *possible* to explain the passage consistently with the third hypothesis. No violence is done to it. Yet we are disposed, notwithstanding, to adopt *the first*, as more natural and more readily suggesting itself on the surface of the text.

Let it be recollected that we are now speaking of the most zealous, active, and influential of the Judaising party among the Galatians, not of those who came from a distance to sow the seed for the first time. *The organs* of the latter we suppose to have originally belonged to the ranks of Gentile christians. We do not affirm that *all* the Judaisers were such, but *the majority* of those who disturbed the peace and purity of these churches. It is highly probable that *some* Jewish christians were among them, such as are described in the *third* hypothesis. Doubtless there were several Judaisers of Jewish extraction, not proselytes, who having been active in the first instance in Galatia, and having succeeded so far as to gain over from among the Gentile christians some proselytes, were soon outstripped by the latter in zeal, as well as the success attending their exertions. The anti-Pauline party had first of all sent emissaries into Galatia, who must have been Jewish christians; and *they* began that agitation which issued in an extensive defection from the faith. *They* first sowed the seed which produced a harvest so pleasing to their view, especially as they were fortunate enough to have obtained able assistants in the work of perversion—men who soon cast into the shade the very masters to whom they had once listened.

It has been assumed by Benson,[q] that *one* Judaising christian or false apostle, who had either crept in or risen up among the Galatians, called forth the present epistle. It was he that made insinuations against the apostle, and gave rise to all the disagreeable consequences which happened. The view of Estius, Usteri, Bertholdt, and Olshausen is similar, but not so extravagant, viz.

[q] The History of the First Planting the Christian Religion, etc. vol. ii. pp. 119, 120.

that there was one principal leader who is alluded to in Galatians, etc. One passage is appealed to, viz. Gal. v. 9, 10: "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be." It is further alleged by Benson that he was a man of immoral character (vi. 12, etc.), not acting from religious motives, but vain-glory and fear, wishing to escape persecution. The foundation on which this hypothesis rests is far too feeble and slender to bear it up. The plural number is almost always employed in speaking of Paul's opponents. The singular is used in the one passage alone. It is therefore more natural to expound the one by the many, than to oblige the many to conform to the letter of the one. Here the leaders of the party are *individualised*, a thing quite common in Scripture phraseology, especially in the book of Psalms. A parallel occurs in 2 Cor. xi. 4, where ὁ ἐρχόμενος refers to more persons than one.

In prosecuting their design to bring the Galatians under the yoke of ceremonial observances, the false teachers industriously circulated various calumnies which contributed materially to their purpose. They attacked Paul's apostleship, affirming that he was not called *immediately* by Christ to the office, like the other apostles, especially Peter, James, and John, but that he received it from men. Hence it carried with it neither perfect enlightenment nor infallibility. As a preacher of the gospel, he had been taught Christianity by *the true* apostles. His knowledge was therefore inferior to theirs, because it was not the result of a direct divine illumination. They tried to shew that Peter and the other apostles of the circumcision did not oppose the circumcision of converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles; that there was an inconsistency between them and Paul in this respect; and that the latter departed in consequence from the true doctrine of Christ. They even insinuated that there was an inconsistency in the apostle's own sentiments and conduct; for when he was among the Jews he observed the law, but when he was in the society of Gentiles he neglected it to please and flatter *them*. In short, they had endeavoured to raise in the minds of the converts generally a suspicion of

Paul's affection for them; and thus the latter were alienated from his person.

These Judaisers did not labour in vain. The credulous Galatians listened to their insinuations. Many of them had submitted to circumcision, and had either kept the Jewish festivals, or were disposed to observe them. Thus the entire aspect of their Christianity was altered and disfigured. Faith came to be reckoned a subordinate thing. Religion was viewed as consisting in the performance of externals, rather than the purity of inward principles resting on the crucified Redeemer; and the work of sanctification among them seemed fast verging towards extinction. But the apostle meets and effectually refutes all the charges. He combats with energy the various insinuations advanced against him. In opposition to the baseless accusations, he vindicates himself with triumphant success. The refuge of lies to which his adversaries had recourse is swept away with a torrent of bold and manly argument. Nothing is left unanswered. The independence, freedom, purity of the gospel he preached are openly asserted. His conduct and doctrines are placed in the broad daylight of integrity, ingenuousness, and truth.

The letter shews very plainly that the writer took up his pen under the excitement of strong feelings, produced by unexpected as well as unwelcome tidings. Hence a fiery energy pervades the epistle. An impetuous tone marks it. Yet the matter is well-arranged. The order is clear. Idea after idea and proof after proof are consecutively disposed. Thus notwithstanding the energy and vehemence manifested by the writer, the particulars and arguments introduced are admirably fitted to serve the purpose he had in view. We cannot indeed agree with Winer[r] in preferring it to the epistle to the Romans, or in thinking the order in which the materials are laid out perfect and consummate. The structure is not so regular as that of the Roman epistle. Such at least is our opinion. Yet the character of the apostle is strikingly impressed on it. Strong emotion, manly earnestness, a tone emphatic and sharp, alternating by easy transitions with mild, affectionate sympathy, bespeak the ener-

[r] Prolegomena, p. 16.

getic Paul. In his letters to the cultivated Romans and Corinthians there is a degree of elegance and refinement not found in the present. Hence Tertullian *is said* to represent him as a novice in Christianity at the date of the letter. But Tertullian's words, as Burton has well-remarked, prove nothing as to the date of the present epistle, or the style of it. They speak of Peter, James, and John being rebuked by Paul, who, "*adhuc in gratia rudis*, trepidans ne in vacuum cucurrisset aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus apostolis conferebat."[s] Jerome[t] apologises for some of the impassioned terms he uses, as if the apostle were not a man of like feelings with ourselves. The writer begins to reprove at the commencement of the letter, which is unusual, and in the course of it frequently bursts out into impassioned apostrophes and appeals.

The apostle wrote the entire letter with his own hand, as he himself informs us, without employing an amanuensis. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand;" words referring to *the length* of the epistle, not to the ill-shaped, unseemly character of the letters. The reason why he wrote it all with his own hand was not to prevent forgery, as Olshausen[u] thinks, but rather to prove to his readers the extent of his affection, which prompted him to undertake any task, however difficult or painful, to promote their welfare, and to shew the great importance he attached to the subject about which he addressed them. If it be recollected that the false teachers had *endeavoured* at least to alienate the minds of the Galatians from him, by representing him to be less devoted to their welfare than he really was, and that his adversaries sought their own glory (vi. 12, 13), the fact of his writing the letter himself will appear highly appropriate.

Nothing is known of the person who *carried* the letter. Macknight supposes Titus to have been the bearer, because as a Greek he was much interested in the doctrine which it was designed to establish, and also because he was present with Paul

[s] Advers. Marcion, i. 20.

[t] Comp. his Commentary on Gal. v. 12. See also Chrysostom on the place.

[u] Commentar, u. s. w. vol. iv. p. 112.

at Jerusalem during the council, and could attest the things which happened there, as related by the apostle. In the absence of proper data, it is impossible to determine whether Titus was the bearer. Perhaps if he had been entrusted with it, he would have been mentioned as such in the epistle. Tychicus, the bearer of the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, is noticed by Paul in that capacity; and Titus was a person of more note. The point is one of no moment. It matters nothing to us *who* carried the letter from Ephesus into Galatia. *The document itself* is the chief matter requiring examination.

VI. *Authenticity and genuineness of the letter.*

These have been generally admitted, even by the most sceptical critics. The contents and style of the letter refer it beyond a doubt to Paul the apostle. And it agrees with Luke's narrative in the Acts of the Apostles.

Lardner and others have found allusions to the epistle in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr; but they are not clear or direct. Thus the first writes: *Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς σάρκος ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.*[x] "Christ our Lord gave his blood for us, by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his spirit for our spirits" (comp. Gal. i. 4). Ignatius says: *"Ον ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων κεκτῆσθαι τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνὴκουσαν. . . . . ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*[y] "Which bishop I know obtained the ministry for the public, not of himself, nor by men, nor out of vain-glory, but by the love of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 1). *Εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι.*[z] "For if we still live according to Judaism, we confess we have not received grace" (Gal. v. 4). In Justin Martyr we find these words: *Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγὼ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ἤμην ὡς ὑμεῖς. . . . . .*[a] "Be as I am, for I was as ye are" (Gal. iv. 12).

[x] Ep. 1 ad Corinth. cap. 49.
[y] Ad Philadelph. c. 1.
[z] Ad Magnesianos, c. 8.
[a] Cohort. ad Graecos, p. 40.

The first definite testimony to the epistle is furnished by fathers at the close of the second century, and in the third, by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian.

Irenaeus writes: "Sed et in eâ quae est ad Galatas, sic ait (apostolus): 'Quid ergo lex factorum? Posita est usque quo veniat semen, cui promissum est,'" etc.[b] "The apostle in the epistle to the Galatians says: 'Of what use then is the law of works? It was added until the seed should come to whom the promise was was made,'" etc (Gal. iii. 19). Clement of Alexandria has the following: *Διό καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων, φησί· Τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω, ἄχρις οὗ, κ. τ. λ.*[c] "Wherefore Paul also writing to the Galatians says: 'My children, of whom I travail again, until,'" etc (Gal. iv. 19). The testimony of Tertullian is to this effect: "Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas."[d] "But no more need be said on this head if it be the same Paul who, writing to the Galatians, reckons heresies among the works of the flesh," etc.

The early heretics were also acquainted with the epistle, and ascribed it to its true author. Marcion received it, though he omitted two important passages which contradicted his tenets.[e] Celsus says, that all the Christian sects, much as they may have hated one another, had perpetually in their mouths the words of Gal. vi. 14: "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."[f] The Valentinians wished to prove by Gal. vi. 14 that Paul attributed the same virtue to the cross as they;[g] and Theodotus, by Gal. iii. 19, etc. that Adam received by angels the seed of a better wisdom.[h] A certain leader of the Encratites drew a false inference from Gal. vi. 8, for the purpose of casting a stigma on marriage.[i]

[b] Advers. Haeres. lib. 3. cap. vii. p. 210. Ed. Grabe.

[c] Stromata, lib. iii. p. 468. Ed. Colon. 1688.

[d] De Praescript. Haeret. c. 6.

[e] See Jerome on Gal. vi. 14; and Tertullian against Marcion, book v. chap. 3.

[f] Origen against Celsus, book v. chap. 64.

[g] Irenaeus, Adv. Haereses, book i. chap. 3.

[h] Epitom. Theodot. chap. 53.

[i] See Jerome on Gal. vi. 8.

VII. *Its contents.*

The epistle may be conveniently divided into three parts. I. i.—ii. 21; II. iii. 1—v. 12; III. v. 13—vi. 18. *The first* contains a narrative of some circumstances in the writer's personal history; *the second*, a doctrinal statement; *the third*, a practical application.

Each of these may be subdivided into paragraphs:—

I. i.—ii. 21. This portion is historical, giving an account of several important particulars in the life of the writer, for the purpose of refuting the assertions of his adversaries, and establishing his true apostleship. It contains the four following paragraphs:—(*a*) i. 1-5; (*b*) i. 6-24; (*c*) ii. 1-10; (*d*) ii. 11-21.

(*a*) i. 1-5 is the salutation in which Paul begins with asserting that he was not made an apostle by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead. He then wishes the churches in Galatia grace and peace from the true God and his Son Jesus Christ in whom they believed.

(*b*) i. 6-24. In this paragraph he reproves their fickleness, by expressing astonishment at the sudden change in their belief, pronounces a strong anathema on any one who should preach another gospel than his; and declares, in opposition to the insinuations of the Judaisers, that his object was not to please men, else he should not be the true servant of Christ. The gospel he preached was not of human origin, nor conformed to human wisdom, but received from Christ by immediate revelation. In reverting to his past life, he shews that he was at first a zealous Pharisee, and a violent persecutor of Christians. But when God revealed his Son within him, Paul did not consult with any man as to his plans, nor go up to Jerusalem to learn the gospel from any of the apostles. On the contrary, he went into Arabia, and did not go up to Jerusalem till after three years; on which occasion he saw none of the apostles except Peter and James, and remained there only fifteen days, a period far too short to allow of his being instructed in the entire range of Christian doctrine, supposing he had been previously ignorant of it. In order still further to prove that he had not been taught Christianity by the chief apostles, he states that he was a stranger to the Christian

societies of Judea, who had merely *heard* that the once noted persecutor of the church had been converted to the faith.

(*c*) ii. 1 - 10. After this he proceeds to state, that on the occasion of his *third* journey to Jerusalem, fourteen years after his conversion, he went thither in consequence of an express revelation, in company with Barnabas, taking Titus with him also. There he explained the gospel he had preached to the Gentiles, to James, Peter, and John, privately; and to shew that they approved his conduct regarding the heathen, no demand on their part was made for the circumcision of Titus, though he was of Gentile origin. It is true that he circumcised Timothy, but not by compulsion. It was a spontaneous act, dictated by Christian prudence. He did not yield in any matter to the Judaisers. Neither did the most eminent apostles, in whom the Judaisers gloried, impart to him additional information, but acknowledged him as a brother, giving him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. They agreed that he and Barnabas should labour independently among the Gentiles, as they themselves did among the Jews. The only thing proposed to Paul was, that collections should continue to be made in the churches for the use of the poor Christians at Jerusalem; but he himself was solicitous about that matter.

(*d*) ii. 11 - 21. This paragraph contains an account of a reprimand administered by Paul to Peter, in order to prove that the gospel preached by the former was independent even of the most eminent apostle. The writer alleges that he publicly rebuked Peter himself at Antioch, who, through fear of the Judaisers, acted in such a way as to betray the liberty of the Gentile converts. The substance of his language to Peter was, that such as were born Jews—and therefore not so gross sinners as the idolatrous Gentiles—even they believed in Jesus Christ for justification, since, with all their observance of the law, they knew that by works of law no flesh could be justified. If, said Paul, we who thus seek to be justified solely by Christ be represented as sinners, because we do not observe the law, this would be pulling down what we ourselves had built up. The believer by means of the law becomes dead to the law, that he might begin to live to God.

He is crucified with Christ. Christ lives within him, and the life which he lives is a life of faith on the Son of God. This doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, so far from annulling the grace of God, establishes the necessity of it; but on the contrary, if justification be by the law, Christ died in vain.

II. The second part may be also subdivided into four paragraphs:—(*a*) iii. 1 - 14; (*b*) iii. 15—iv. 7; (*c*) iv. 8—v. 1; (*d*) v. 2 - 12.

(*a*) iii. 1 - 14. He now appeals with the greatest confidence to the Galatians themselves, demanding of them whether they had received the Spirit by the law, or by the preaching of the gospel. Are ye so foolish? he asks. Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now making an end in the flesh? Would they render all their past sufferings for Christianity vain by not persevering as they had begun? And because his adversaries relied on the Old Testament, he shews that Abraham himself was justified by *faith*, not by *the law;* and that righteousness belongs to all who by faith are Abraham's spiritual children. On the other hand, the law as such pronounces condemnation on all, because it requires absolute obedience, which none is able to render. Christ by dying delivered men from the curse of the law, being made a curse for them, that the blessing promised to Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that they might receive the promised Spirit by faith.

(*b*) iii. 15—iv. 7. In this paragraph, the writer farther explains the relation of the law to the gospel by a compact or covenant among men. A human covenant cannot be broken, much less God's promise made to Abraham and his Seed which is Christ. The law intervening between the promise and its fulfilment could not therefore prevent the latter. But some might ask, Of what use is the law? The answer is, It was added to convince of sin, and restrain its outbreakings, till Christ the promised Seed should come. Covenants require an *internuncius*, a person whose existence and office imply two parties. At the giving of the law or Sinai covenant, Moses was *internuncius;* God was one party. Now God cannot be inconsistent with himself; and as He was the chief party in the covenant made with Abraham, he could not design to annul that covenant or promise

by the law subsequently given from Sinai.[k] The law then is not opposed to the promise. It was intended rather to prepare the way for the fulfilment of the promise, *i. e.* for the gospel. All being sinners, all have need of mercy, of which the law exhibited nothing. The law was a schoolmaster leading men to Christ, that they might be justified by faith. It was like a severe tutor, from which the Jews were delivered as soon as Christ came; for in Christ Jesus, under the gospel, all are the sons of God by faith. There is no distinction between the Jew and the Greek. Artificial and outward lines of separation are abolished. All are bound together in spiritual unity. Antecedently to the gospel, both Jews and Gentiles were in bondage; but now God has sent His son in human nature to deliver such as were under the dominion of an outward religion, that they might be adopted as sons. As a proof of this, He has given them the Spirit of His Son. The conclusion at which the writer arrives is, that they were no longer in a state of servitude, but sons and heirs of God.

(*c*) iv. 8—v. 1. He reminds the Galatians of their state before conversion, when they were in bondage to idolatry. It would surely be preposterous for them, now that they knew God, to turn again to the weak and beggarly elements of an outward religion. This would be a descent from the higher to the grosser forms of spiritual life. He then proposes himself to them for imitation: "Be as I am, in regard to freedom from the law; for I am as ye are, in respect to the law's non-observance, though a native Jew." He reminds them of the exalted respect and affection with which they had received him when he visited them. Though he laboured under a great infirmity in his body, yet they exhibited ardent attachment to his person. Was it possible then that they could have become his enemies, because he told them the truth? The Judaisers had a great zeal towards the Galatians to gain them over to their party, but their motives were not right, for they wished to loosen their attachment to the apostle, and to exclude them from the kingdom of God as un-

[k] See Pye Smith's Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, p. 108.

circumcised Gentiles, in order that the Galatian converts might zealously emulate them by submitting to circumcision and other Jewish ordinances, for the sake of becoming members of that kingdom. Not to damp their zeal towards himself he remarks, that zeal is a good principle in a good cause; a principle which should be continued in his absence no less than his presence. He expresses his exceeding solicitude about them till they should be spiritually renewed a second time, and restored to the true doctrine of the gospel. He then reverts to the Old Testament for the purpose of shewing them that they did not understand the law aright, else they should discover *his* doctrine in it. Sarah, Abraham's wife, with her son Isaac, represents the New Testament church, which is free; Hagar, the bondwoman, with her son Ishmael, represents the legal dispensation. The latter must give place to the former. The former alone must prevail to the thrusting out of the latter. These transactions are *allegorised* by Paul, or in other words *accommodated* to the law and the gospel. Galatian christians therefore should remember their freedom under the new economy, and not allow themselves to be entangled again with a yoke of bondage.

(*d*) v. 2-12. He warns them against circumcision, declaring that if they submitted to that institute Christ should be of no avail to them, because the circumcised person virtually binds himself to keep the whole law; and whoever seeks justification by the law is fallen from a state of grace. Under the gospel, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails any thing—nothing external—but only a true faith working by love. The Galatians had begun well: he asks them why they should have stumbled and ceased to obey the truth? The persuasion by which they were led to do so was not of divine origin, but proceeded from the Pharisaic leaven of false teachers, who had gradually corrupted the Christian community. But he expresses his confident hope that they would not abandon themselves entirely to errorists, who should assuredly be punished as they deserved. As for himself, if he still preached the necessity of circumcision, there could be no reason for the Jews persecuting him as they did. In that case, the offence which the Jews took against Christianity, because it proclaimed salvation by simple

faith in Christ crucified without the observance of the law, should be done away. But the fact that he was still persecuted by the Jews sufficiently attested that he did not preach the necessity of circumcision.

III. In the third part there are two paragraphs:—(*a*) v. 13—vi. 10; (*b*) vi. 11-18.

(*a*) v. 13—vi. 10. The writer exhorts them while adhering to the liberty of the gospel, not to abuse it. They were bound to love one another, and thus to fulfil the whole law. By leading a life of spiritual conformity to the will of God, they should take the most effectual method to suppress the sensual, depraved nature within them; and this spirituality should release them from the law as a system of outward observances. He then enumerates the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit, reminding them that Christ's true disciples have crucified their sinful nature and walk in the freedom of the divine life. Among various exhortations, he recommends them to be generous towards their instructors, knowing that as they sowed, so should they reap hereafter. Their duty was to do good to *all* men, especially to their fellow-christians.

(*b*) vi. 11-18. After mentioning that he had written the entire letter with his own hand, his anxiety for the Galatians bursts forth again, and he repeats in brief propositions, the doctrinal points already stated in the letter. He informs them that the Judaisers, wishing to have some outward pre-eminence to glory in, insisted on having them circumcised only that they might not be persecuted with the cross of Christ. The Judaisers regarded the doctrine of a crucified Saviour as *adverse* to their making a fair show of superiority in zeal for outward observances, because it would lead them to abandon *such* grounds of fancied superiority, and to seek salvation by the cross alone.[1] In contrast with the pride of pre-eminence in external observances, the apostle declares of himself that he gloried in nothing but the doctrine of Christ crucified, the Author of salvation, by which the world ceased to be a centre of attraction to him. He pro-

[1] See Neander's Pflanzung und Zeitung, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 373. The right reading is given by Lachmann.

nounced peace on such as walked in accordance with the principle that nothing but a new creation in Christ avails under the gospel; and finally desires the Galatians to give him no further trouble, since he bore in his person the marks of suffering endured in the cause of Christ. The letter closes with the usual benediction.

On another occasion and for another purpose we referred to the similarity between the second epistle to the Corinthians and the present letter to the Galatians. They were written against opponents, under similar feelings and in circumstances somewhat alike. But the letter before us bears a greater likeness to the one addressed to the Romans, both in ideas and phraseology, as the following table of parallels will shew:—

Galatians ii. 16 . . .	Romans iii. 20.
ii. 19	vii. 4.
iii. 6	iv. 3.
iii. 7	iv. 12; ix. 6, 7.
iii. 13	viii. 1-4.
iv. 4	viii. 3.
iv. 5, 6	viii. 14-17.
iv. 28	ix. 7.
v. 14	xiii. 8-10.
v. 17	vii. 13-24.
v. 19-21	i. 28-31.
vii. 1, 2	xv. 1-3.
iii. 6—iv. 1-7, iv. 21-31, v. 1-6	ii. 17-29, iii. 9, etc., v. 21.

Both epistles set forth the relation of the law to the gospel: the epistle to the Romans *objectively*, without a polemic reference to Judaising errors; that to the Galatians expressly in opposition to the Judaising tendency. Taken together they exhibit a complete view of the essential principles of the gospel. The language of the law is imperative. It makes demands on every individual —demands which the weakness of humanity is unable to fulfil. It cannot make sinners holy. It convinces them of their want of

holiness. On the other hand, the gospel promises and confers pardon, regeneration, and sanctification. It supplies what the law cannot give. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the expression *law*, or *law of Moses*, as used in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, is taken in its most comprehensive sense. It is wrong to restrict it to *the ceremonial law* of the Jews. It embraces *the moral* as well as *the ceremonial* law. Both are inseparably united. The ceremonial is merely *one aspect* of law, or, if we may be permitted the phrase, *a grosser form* of it. *The moral* is a *finer form* of the same. Sometimes the one is made prominent, sometimes the other, just according to the writer's purpose in a particular place. It is the ceremonial law to which there is a primary reference in the epistle before us. But in demonstrating *its* inability to save, or the impossibility of obtaining salvation by means of it, *every* form of law is virtually excluded from the same inherent efficacy. *All* law, whether in the form of ceremonial observances, or deeds of catholic sanctity, or cultivated morality, is declared to be a false ground of hope. Christ, the great representative of a humanity incapable of *perfect* obedience to law, has fulfilled it on behalf of all. By faith, his work becomes ours. The works of the law and the righteousness of faith are incompatible as means of salvation. Salvation is wholly of faith.

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

In reviewing the chief topics connected with the Epistle to the Ephesians, the following order will be observed:—

I. The Persons to whom it was originally addressed.
II. The Connexion subsisting between it and the Epistle to the Colossians.
III. The Genuineness and Authenticity.
IV. Time and Place of Writing.
V. Occasion and Object.
VI. Its Contents.

I. *The persons to whom it was originally addressed.*

This topic is closely connected with the opening words of the epistle: "To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus."

Let us examine the external evidence adduced to shew that the words *in Ephesus* (*ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*) were originally wanting; or that they were not inserted in *some* copies; or that *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*, *in Laodicea*, stood in their place.

Basil in his second book against Eunomius writes thus: *Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὡς γνησίως ἡνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι' ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπὼν· τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν.*[a]

"And writing to the Ephesians as truly united by knowledge to him *who is*, he called them in a peculiar sense *those who are*, saying, 'To the saints *who are*, and the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in the ancient copies."

[a] Opp. tom. i. p. 254. ed. Garnier.

It has been disputed whether the various reading referred to by Basil consisted in the article τοῖς prefixed to οὖσιν, or to τοῖς οὖσι, or to οὖσι alone, or to ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. L'Enfant, Wolfius, Lardner, and Huth contend for the first. Kuster argues against L'Enfant. The following are L'Enfant's arguments:—

"The various reading consists in the emphatical particle τοῖς and not ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, as may appear from these several considerations.

"1. St. Basil moves not the question, whether that epistle be written to the Ephesians or others.

"2. At the beginning of the passage he supposeth that it was written to the Ephesians, without saying that there was any contest about it.

"3. The design of Basil is to shew that the Ephesians are justly and properly called ὄντες, *such as are*, because of their union with *him who is*.

"4. The word ἰδιαζόντως, *peculiarly*, must relate to the emphatical article τοῖς, which is necessary to answer to ὁ ὤν, *him who is;* and which, according to Mill's own account, is wanting in one MS. at least. This is the point: τοῖς was wanting in the common copies in the time of St. Basil, but he had read it in ancient MSS., and he avails himself of it to authorise his speculation. It is true that in his quotation he does not put the words *at Ephesus*, because that was not the thing in contest, and he had mentioned it before, and he had no occasion to mention it again. Moreover he might be disposed to omit those words, *at Ephesus*, the more to favour his speculation upon τοῖς οὖσι, *such as are*, taken in an absolute sense.

"5. St. Jerome, who refutes this speculation of St. Basil, makes it turn upon the particle τοῖς, and mentions not any various reading upon the place." [b]

This reasoning is both ingenious and plausible. But it is not convincing. It admits of an answer. We admit that Basil says at the beginning of the passage the epistle was written *to the Ephesians;* but such an affirmation might be made in perfect consistency with the hypothesis that the letter was *encyclical*,

[b] Clerici Bibl. Chois. tom. xvi. p. 301; tom. xxi. p. 111, et seq.

intended *partly* for the Ephesians, and generally quoted as such in his time, because the copies having *in Ephesus* had almost displaced the others.

The beginning of the passage in Basil certainly shews that he knew of no such reading as ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ; but we cannot agree with L'Enfant when he affirms that τοῖς was wanting in the common copies in the time of Basil, and that this father availed himself of the article as found in ancient copies to authorise his speculation. Had the common copies wanted the article in Basil's days, it would have been absent *now* from many; and yet all MSS. hitherto examined, with the exception of one, exhibit it.

Besides, the word ἰδιαζόντως does not so much relate to *the article by itself* as to the participle οὖσι. The plain import of the passage is, that when Basil discovered ἐν Ἐφέσῳ to be wanting after τοῖς οὖσιν, he eagerly seized on that circumstance as favourable to a peculiar exposition of the *participle*. He does not state in how many ancient MSS. the phrase was omitted. His language however implies, that it was absent from the ancient copies generally—from all that he knew or had heard of. Hence he does not say ἐν παλαιοῖς τισι, but ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. The artificial exposition given by Basil would scarcely have been attempted on the supposition of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ immediately succeeding τοῖς οὖσι; nor is it at all probable that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ever stood in another position than the present, since no collated MS. assigns it a different place in the sentence.

That Basil's words refer to the various reading τοῖς οὖσι has been maintained by Michaelis and Koppe, who are refuted by Hug and Hemsen. That they refer to οὖσι alone is held by Wiggers,[c] but the opinion is quite untenable. The only admissible meaning of Basil is that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was the various reading.[d]

Let us now turn to Jerome. His words are: "Quidam curiosius quam necesse est, putant ex eo quod Mosi dictum sit: haec dices filiis Israel; *qui est*, misit me,—etiam eos, qui Ephesi sunt

[c] Studien und Kritiken for 1841, Heft. 2, p. 423, et seq.

[d] See Anger, ueber den Laodicenerbrief, u. s. w. pp. 90, 91.

sancti et fideles, essentiae vocabulo nuncupatus, ut . . . . ab eo *qui est*, hi *qui sunt* appellentur. Alii vero simpliciter non ad eos, *qui sunt*, sed *qui Ephesi* sancti et fideles *sunt*, scriptum arbitrantur."[e]

"Some are of opinion from what was said to Moses, 'Thou shalt say to the children of Israel *he who is* has sent me' (Exodus iii. 14), that the saints and faithful at Ephesus were also designated by a term denoting *essence*, so that from *him who is*, they are called *those who are*. This is an over-refined speculation. Others suppose that he wrote simply not to *those who are*, but to *those who are* saints and faithful *at Ephesus*."

Here we must believe, in opposition to Lardner, that Jerome's allusion to the two interpretations is founded on the fact of some copies having the common reading, while others wanted ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. His own opinion was, that the epistle was addressed to the Ephesians; but the forced interpretation he censures proceeds on the idea that *in Ephesus* was sometimes wanting. It is most improbable, as we have said in relation to Basil, that the fanciful exposition of the words, to which Jerome alludes, found ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in a different position, and laid emphasis on the participle notwithstanding.

Jerome's language implies that two readings existed in his day, viz. τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ and τοῖς οὖσιν. He himself read and followed the former.

It is vain for Böttger and Olshausen to deny that Jerome adopted the received reading ἐν Ἐφέσῳ because he says *arbitrantur*, *imagine*. His words are *scriptum arbitrantur*, which are equivalent to "censent ab apostolo dictum sive positum esse," as Lünemann[f] has well observed.

Tertullian is the next witness to be heard. He writes thus: "Praetereo hic et de aliâ epistolâ quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos."[g]

"I pass by here another epistle which *we* have inscribed to the Ephesians, but heretics to the Laodiceans." Again:

[e] Ad Ephes. i. 1.

[f] De Epistolae quam Paulus ad Ephesios dedisse perhibetur, authentia, primis lectoribus, argumento summo ac consilio, p. 36.

[g] Adv. Marcion, v. 11.

"Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam."[h]

"According to the true testimony of the church, we suppose that epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians. But Marcion sometimes inclined to alter the title, as if he had made a very diligent inquiry into that matter. Yet the title is of no importance, since the apostle wrote to all when he wrote to some."

From this passage it may be inferred, that Tertullian himself believed the true testimony or tradition of the church to be, that the epistle was inscribed to the Ephesians, that Marcion and his followers call it *the epistle to the Laodiceans*, and that on some occasions Marcion wished to alter the title.

But what did Tertullian mean by *titulus*, *title?* Is it *a running title prefixed*, or *the inscription inserted in the epistle* at its commencement, or both together? The word *interpolare* favours the second, and consequently the supposition that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was wanting in the first verse. Yet according to the *usus loquendi* of this father, *interpolare* is equivalent to *corrumpere*, whether by *adding* or *erasing*. *Title* probably means *running title*, according to the usual phraseology[i] of this father, though Lardner and others think otherwise. Tertullian does not find fault with Marcion for corrupting *the text* but *the title;* and appeals to ecclesiastical tradition in proof of *the Ephesians* not *the Laodiceans* being addressed.

Marcion wished to falsify the title by reading πρὸς Λαοδικέας, *to the Laodiceans*, and in conformity with this to have left out ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text. Why he omitted ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, whether from critical reasons, or because he found the omission in copies then existing, cannot be determined. It will be observed that Tertullian does not intimate that Marcion had ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ where ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is now found. What Tertullian *does* say is, that *the heretic had sometimes a mind* (gestiit aliquando) *to alter the title.*

[h] Adv. Marcion, v. 17.

[i] Comp. Adv. Marc. iv. 3, 4. De Pudicitia, c. 20.

We believe, therefore, that *titulus* means directly *the running title*, not *the salutation* in the epistle itself. But it will be readily seen that this opinion coincides *substantially* with the view of such as make the term include *both together*. Because Marcion wished to alter or falsify the title, he must have wished consistently to leave out ἐν Ἐφέσῳ from the text. The one step led to the other. Thus Bertholdt and Neudecker are nearly right in affirming that *titulus* includes both. Hemsen and Wieseler however, with nicer discrimination, have pointed out how the one must virtually *lead to* the other. The objection of Anger[k] to this view is not valid. It is this: according to Hemsen, Tertullian specifies *expressly* the less important particular—that which is a mere consequent—while he alludes *indirectly* and by *implication* only to the more important and antecedent particular. Surely it is natural to specify the cause, though the effect to which it leads may be of greater consequence.

The authority of Ignatius need not be pressed into the service either of supporting ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, or of impugning it. His language is too obscure to be of much avail in the question. It has been urged however very strongly by Michaelis.[l]

In the twelfth chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians, Ignatius calls them Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, and adds, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Here the argument turns mainly on the sense of the expression ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ. Michaelis translates it "in the whole epistle," *i. e.* a single or particular epistle which the Ephesians had received from Paul, meaning of course that to the Ephesians now extant.

Dr. Burton is satisfied with Michaelis's proof, but not so Mr. Greswell who contends that ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ can only mean *in every epistle*, which necessarily implies that no one epistle is meant more than another. This is certainly the correct rendering of the Greek, and the two passages cited by Lardner as instances of another construction of πᾶς with a substantive without the article between, are justly considered by Greswell as militating against himself. But πᾶς with a noun and without the article interven-

[k] Ueber den Laodicenerbrief, u. s. w. p. 97.

[l] Introduction to N. T. by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 129, et seq.

ing sometimes signifies *the whole of* a thing even in the New Testament. Thus, in Matthew (ii. 3) πᾶσα Ἰεροσόλυμα, and in the epistle to the Romans (xi. 26) πᾶς Ἰσραήλ are exceptions to the general rule. Surely then we need not suppose Ignatius to have been so good a Greek scholar as to have adhered to the regular construction invariably, especially since the New Testament itself presents exceptions. We are therefore inclined to suppose that there may be something in Michaelis's argument, though we are far from laying such stress on it as he and others are inclined to do. What Greswell means by saying that Ignatius in writing *to the Ephesians* expresses himself in such language as, "Who in every epistle maketh mention of *you* in Christ Jesus," we cannot imagine. How can the apostle mention *the Ephesians* in every letter?

Credner[m] relies as strongly as Michaelis on the authority of Ignatius, in order to shew that the letter was *not* addressed to the Ephesians alone. For this purpose he assumes that the larger recension of Ignatius's epistle is correct in this instance, which differs from the shorter by reading πάντοτε for ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, and ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν. All this is very precarious. Indeed there is no weight at all in Credner's argument, as Lünemann[n] has pertinently proved.

Cod. B. has ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the margin, from a second hand according to Tischendorf. Cod. 67 omits it *by emendation*.

In reviewing this external evidence relative to the inscription of the epistle, it appears adverse to the idea that the words *in Ephesus* were wanting in all *the original* copies.

It is also opposed to the idea that *in Laodicea* stood in place of them at first.

It favours the supposition that *in Ephesus* was not found in *some* ancient MSS. It countenances the fact that various old copies did not read *in Ephesus*. It is true that Lardner and others will not allow of this conclusion; but the learned writer does not interpret the passages of the fathers which have been quoted with his usual ability or fairness.

It is impossible to assign the reason which led to the omission

[m] Enleit. in das N. T. pp. 395, 396.

[n] De Epistolae, etc. p. 38.

of the phrase in some copies. Wieseler[o] conjectures, that it was left out for the same reason as ἐν Ῥώμῃ was omitted in a few copies from Romans i. 7, viz. the anxiety which began to prevail in the second century to exhibit *the catholicity* of Paul's epistles — an anxiety that led to the removal of their specific and individual allusions as far as possible.

The majority of modern critics attach much greater importance to these few patristic notices than we should be disposed to allow. Some look on them as countenancing the *circular* character of the epistle. But the utmost that can be affirmed is, that they do not contradict that hypothesis. Others consider that they favour the identity of the now-called epistle *to the Ephesians* with that sent *to the Laodiceans*, alluded to in Coloss. iv. 16.

Let us now adduce those internal arguments, which in connexion with the preceding testimonies are regarded as proof that the epistle was not addressed to the Ephesians alone.

It is urged, that if it had been intended exclusively for the church, we cannot account for the absence of special allusions to individual members in the church, or the want of various salutations. And yet the writer had been three years among the Ephesians; he stood in a most intimate relation to them, and must have been acquainted with their affairs as well as the degree of their Christian knowledge (Acts xix. and xx.). He had also taken an affectionate farewell of their elders who came to him at Miletus. How then can he write in such a manner as induces the belief of his having merely *heard* of their faith and love: "Wherefore I also after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and love unto all the saints" (i. 15). How can he address them as if they had arrived at the knowledge of his peculiar commission to preach to the Gentiles, and the extraordinary revelation he had received from heaven only by *report?* "If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward; how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery" (iii. 2, 3). The Ephesian church too was composed not *merely* of Gentiles but of Jewish christians; whereas the epistle is directed to the former class alone (ii. 11,

[o] Chronologie, u. s. w. p. 138.

etc.; 19, etc.; iii. 1, etc.; iv. 17, 22). Besides, the present letter was written and sent at the same time as that to the Colossians, in which letter Timothy is joined with the author himself in the salutation (Coloss. i. 1); and as Timothy must have been well known to the Ephesians, the omission of his name at the commencement is inconsistent with the notion of its being intended solely for the church at Ephesus. In short all personal and individual relations are kept in the back-ground throughout. Again; the readers of the epistle had been converted to Christianity only a short time before the writing of it. This is inferred by Lünemann from such passages as i. 15 and iii. 2-4, iv. 21, compared with expressions used by Paul in 1 Cor. i. 5, 6, Philipp. i. 5, 1 Thessal. i. 6, 2 Thessal. i. 3.

For the purpose of obviating these difficulties derived from the character of the epistle itself viewed by the side of the ancient testimony concerning the commencing words, various solutions have been proposed.

First. Some think that the letter before us was that addressed to the Laodiceans by Paul, and mentioned in the epistle to the Colossians (iv. 16). This, it is alleged, was the view of Marcion, as we learn from Tertullian. The old Latin version translated the passage in the Colossians as speaking of an epistle *to* the Laodiceans, and if Marcion used the Latin version of Paul's epistles, it is thought that he followed it in this instance. At any rate Pamelius conjectured that the version was the occasion of Marcion's opinion. The fact that the apostle himself did not found the church at Laodicea would quite accord with this hypothesis. The Christians there were personally unknown to Paul; and therefore the passages which now appear strange when viewed as addressed to the Ephesians, comport with the relation between Paul and the Laodiceans.

But there are circumstances adverse to this hypothesis. On the supposition that Paul addressed a letter to the Laodiceans, and another to the Colossians at the same time and by the same messenger, he would not have included the brethren in Laodicea in a salutation inserted in the letter to the Colossians. In that case too it is not probable that he should have requested the Colossians to see that the epistle specially addressed to them

should be read in the Laodicean church. The latter community being favoured with a letter for their own immediate edification, there could be little propriety or use in the Colossians having *their* epistle read to the Laodiceans. There is a similarity in sentiment between the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians; and if the latter had been sent to the Laodiceans, what need had they to read the shorter and less rich epistle, especially as it bore a striking resemblance to their own?

Again; if the so-called Ephesian were identical with the Laodicean epistle, it must have been written *before* that to the Colossians, as is apparent from Coloss. iv. 16. This opinion however is untenable, as will be shewn hereafter.

The testimony of Marcion that the epistle had the title of *the epistle to the Laodiceans* can be of little consequence. We know that he acted very arbitrarily with regard to the New Testament writings. He followed his own caprice much more than tradition. Tertullian accuses him of corrupting *the title*, but not *the inscription in the text itself*, as though the heretic inserted *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ* in the text instead of *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*. It is apparent, however, that Marcion must, in conformity with his desire to change the running title, have wished *to leave out ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* from the text in the first verse. Hence there is no *historical* foundation in Marcion's testimony for the identification of *the epistle to the Laodiceans* mentioned in Coloss. iv. 16, with the Ephesian epistle. That heretic found the title *to the Ephesians*, and he wished to falsify it. He found *in Ephesus* in the text of the first verse, and was desirous to omit it in conformity with the altered title.

Thus this hypothesis is inadmissible, though advocated by such scholars as Mill, Du Pin, Wall, Vitringa the Younger, Venema, Wetstein, Whiston, Pierce, Benson, Holzhausen, Paley, and Greswell.

Secondly. Another solution which has met with general approbation was proposed by Usher, viz. that the epistle was a *circular* letter, intended for the use of several churches in Asia Minor, including those at Ephesus and Laodicea, or restricted, as Burton supposes, to them alone, or *excluding* that at Ephesus. The most eminent critics of modern times approve of this

hypothesis. Bengelius, Moldenhauer, Michaelis, Koppe, Ziegler, Hänlein, Justi, Schmidt, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Hemsen, Feilmoser, Neander, Schneckenburger, Rückert, Matthies, Credner, Guerike, Böttger, Olshausen, Burton, adopt it in the main, while differing in minor details. It must be observed, however, that all these writers throw discredit more or less on the received reading *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, as if it were suspicious and not written by Paul in *all* or in *several* copies.

We shall now examine the evidence adduced in favour of this view.

The external evidence is inconsiderable, as we have already seen. Indeed there is no *direct* external evidence for the encyclical character of the epistle. There is reason for believing that the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* were wanting in several ancient copies; but that does not prove the fact that the letter was meant to be a *circular* one. There is an overwhelming mass of proof from MSS., versions, and ancient writers, to establish the authenticity of the phrase in question. This reading is unassailable and must be regarded as the only original. As far as external evidence is concerned, it is entitled to all acceptation.

Much more to be commended are those writers, who, while advocating the circular character of the epistle, admit the authenticity of the reading *in Ephesus*. In this class we find Beza, Hammond, Ellies, Whitby, Zachariae, Flatt, Boehmer, Schott, Harless, Schrader, Wiggers, and Lünemann. As it is vain to prove *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* spurious, they do not argue for the encyclical character of the epistle by attempting to disprove the authenticity of the phrase.

The *internal* arguments already stated have been chiefly relied on. Let us therefore consider the weight they are entitled to claim, and the degree of support they give to this hypothesis.

It is said that there is no special reference to any individual member of the church at Ephesus. Not one of the saints there is saluted, though the apostle from his three years' residence among them must have been on intimate terms with several persons. In most of his other epistles he salutes the chief members of the community. In answer to this, Lardner states, that there is no epistle of Paul's which has in it so many salutations as

that addressed to the Roman christians whom he had never seen. But Michaelis pertinently remarks, that though the apostle might have had many friends in a place where he had never been, it cannot be fairly argued in an inverted order that in a locality where he had spent three years, he had no friend whatever whom he deemed worthy of a salutation. Lardner afterwards gives a sufficient reply to the objection. Tychicus who carried the epistle to the Ephesians is required "to make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts." Nor is it the apostle's *invariable* practice to insert particular salutations to members of the community whom he addressed in writing. No individuals are saluted by name in either of the epistles to the Thessalonians, or in that to the Galatians.

The statement contained in Ephes. i. 15 is of little weight in the matter for which it is adduced. Far too much stress has been laid on the term *ἀκούσας*, as though it entirely excluded past personal intercourse. Let it be observed, however, that the writer does not say *μόνον ἀκούσας*, but *ἀκούσας* simply. The verse merely asserts that Paul had heard of *the continuance* of their faith and love since he had been separated from them. In the long interval between his residence at Ephesus and the time of writing the epistle he must have received accounts of their state and progress; and when these were satisfactory he gave thanks to God the author of all good for the steadfast walk his converts were enabled to maintain. The apostle speaks of *the continuance*, not *the first hearing* of their faith. This accords with the language of the same writer in his epistles to Philemon and the Colossians. To the former whose faith he knew, because he had been the means of his conversion, he writes: "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, *hearing* of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus and towards all saints." To the latter, among whom he appears to have been, or of whose faith he had certainly been assured by Epaphras, he writes: "We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints." These parallels confirm the interpretation which several judicious commentators attach to Ephes. i. 15.

With them let the reader also compare 1 Thessal. iii. 6, etc. and Phil. i. 27.

In regard to Ephes. iii. 2-4, where it is written: "*If* ye have *heard* of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward; how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words; whereby when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ;" the particle εἴγε, rendered *if*, denotes, according to Theophylact, *forasmuch as*, or *since*. It has the same meaning in Ephes. iv. 20: "*Since* ye have heard him and been taught by him as the truth is in Jesus;" and in 2 Cor. v. 3: "*Since* being clothed we shall not be found naked." It does not imply *doubt* or *uncertainty*, but serves to *confirm* an assertion:[p] *quandoquidem*, *sintemal*, as both Wahl and Bretschneider render it.

The observation of Wetstein, that the present epistle was originally written for *Gentiles* alone, whereas the church at Ephesus consisted chiefly of *Jews*, is not founded on accurate data, so far as it assumes that Jewish converts formed the great majority of the believers in that city. The learned writer appeals to such passages as Acts xviii. 19, 21, 24, 25; xix. 9, 10, 17; xx. 21. Revel. ii. 7, which however do not justify the opinion that Paul's preaching at Ephesus was most successful among the Jews. It is true that he testified of Christ in the synagogue, and that various persons of the seed of Abraham were convinced by his powerful reasoning, and believed. But the opposition of the Jews to him in this city is also noticed. He was compelled to depart from their synagogue and dispute in the school of Tyrannus. It was among *the Gentiles* he gathered his principal fruit: "For many of them which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men." An examination of Acts xix. 19-41 will sufficiently shew, that far more of the heathen than of the Jews became converts to the new religion in the idolatrous city of Ephesus. All the churches planted by the apostle were of the same character. Individual Jews were incorporated with them in greater or less number, but the Gentiles preponderated. Paul was emphatically the apostle

[p] See Meyer's Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar, pp. 116, 117.

of the Gentiles; and addressed, as was natural, *the mass* of the Christian societies he had been instrumental in gathering together, reminding them of their former idolatry and present privileges. In the first and second chapters, the contrast is seen between heathen and Jewish christians in the use of the pronouns ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς; the former including himself and all the Jewish christians, the latter the Gentile christians; and the traditions from the one to the other are only appropriate on the supposition that *both* existed in the church.

But why is not Timothy's name joined with the apostle's in the salutation, since the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians were written at the same time? This may be explained in different ways. Lardner supposes that Timothy was at Ephesus, not Rome, when the apostle wrote to the church at the former place. Believing that the epistle to the Ephesians was written *before* that addressed to the Colossians, he accounts for the absence of Timothy's name by supposing that the apostle's faithful companion had not yet joined him at Rome. The examination of this point will come up hereafter. In the mean time we may state thus much that the absence of Timothy's name from the letter argues neither his presence nor absence with Paul at the time of writing.

Again; not a single passage in the epistle, nor the tenor of it as a whole, shews that the readers were recent converts. Had they been such, it is quite improbable that the writer would have addressed to them the profound truths of salvation which the letter contains. There is no epistle in which the mysteries of the gospel are more prominent. The apostle here feeds them with strong meat, not with milk.

On the whole, it seems to us an indubitable fact, that the Ephesians were not strangers to Paul when he wrote to them. Their condition, their trials, their dangers were known to him. He had been absent from them for the space of about six years, but had heard of their steadfastness and faith. Changes had doubtless occurred among them since he had been with them. Some whom he knew personally had died. In those epistles which were written to churches a short time after the apostle had left them, we naturally find salutations to individuals, and greater

minuteness than in the letter to the Ephesians. So is it with the epistles to the Corinthians. *The difference of time* is an important element in the account. The following passages presuppose on the part of the writer a good degree of acquaintance with the persons addressed: chap. i. 1-14; ii. 1, 2; iii. 13; iv. 20-24, 30; v. 8; vi. 21, 22.

It is surely quite possible, that the apostle may have kept individual relations in the back-ground in one epistle, though he has not done so generally. He may have had important reasons in his own mind for doing so. Special motives may have led him to take this course. Though the Colossian and Ephesian letters were written about the same time, he may have entered into personal circumstances in the one, and not in the other. Nothing is more unjust than to restrict the apostle of the Gentiles in his writings to one unvarying method. The absence of specific references to himself and the Ephesians does not prove that he had not been among the latter for several years before. It seemed of greater importance at this time to adduce the profound truths of the gospel in their universal bearing on all true Christians, than to enter into minute circumstances of personal acquaintance between the writer and several of the converts at Ephesus.

The advocates of the encyclical character of the letter before us have different views of the original condition of the first verse. Some suppose that a blank space was left between *τοῖς οὖσιν* and *καὶ πιστοῖς*; others, that the words *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* make a complete sentence. The former indulge in various conjectures as to the way in which the vacant space was to be filled up. Thus Olshausen thinks either that Tychicus was furnished with several copies in which the blank was to be filled up with the name of the town; or that copies were written out in Ephesus for the use of different places, *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* being put into the copies alone intended for Ephesus and its vicinity. The present reading came to be general because Ephesus was the principal city of Asia Minor. Michaelis imagines, that Paul inserted each name before he sent off the copies. Hemsen again conjectures, that Paul wrote out at first several copies, in one of which he wrote in Ephesus, in another, *in*

Laodicea, and in others left a vacant space to be filled up by Tychicus as occasion might require. In this manner he accounts for all the readings in the first verse, which on his hypothesis are equally original. There is ample room for a thousand other conjectures of the same kind. But there is much truth in the remark of Schneckenburger,[q] that the entire hypothesis has a *modern* aspect. Singular indeed would it have been if the circle of churches for which the letter was destined had not been mentioned in the epistle, and if copies with the blank unfilled were in circulation so late as the fourth century. In other circular epistles, as in those of Peter and James, there is no such blank; while at the commencement of the epistle to the Galatians, which was designed for the use of several churches, *the country* is specified. According to analogy therefore, we should have expected ἐν Ἀσίᾳ after τοῖς οὖσιν. And then the words of the sixth chapter, twenty-first verse, are inconsistent with the circular character of the epistle: "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things."

Moved by the force of these considerations, Schneckenburger, who thinks that the original reading was τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν, κ. τ. λ., believes that the letter was not meant to circulate originally among a definite number of churches in Asia Minor, but that it was written at first for *all Christians*. Accordingly he interprets the words: "Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, *to the saints who are really such*," etc. In like manner Greswell[r] explains the exordium. Credner gives a different explanation, more refined and unnatural. Both are unsupported by the usual language of the apostle at the commencement of other epistles. Τοῖς ἁγίοις signifies *really saints* without the addition of the participle; while the epistle itself contains sentiments analogous to those addressed to τοῖς ἁγίοις *without the participle*, in other Scriptures. The idea therefore that the sense is complete without ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, or the supposition of a vacant space for something to be inserted instead of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, cannot be entertained. Paul could not have written τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν

[q] Beiträge zur Einleit. ins Neue Testament, p. 133.

[r] Dissertations, etc. vol. iv. p. 209.

καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, as a complete sentence or clause. It yields no intelligible sense, besides being contrary to his *usus loquendi.*[s]

On the whole, the solution proposed by Usher appears to us untenable. We take our position along with Wolf, Cramer, Morus, Doederlein, Rinck, Wurm, Meyer, Wieseler, and others, who adhere to the testimony of ecclesiastical tradition. It cannot be denied that the established reading *in Ephesus* is sufficiently supported by testimony. The fathers generally, such as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, etc., speak of the letter as written to *the Ephesians*, without hinting that it was originally intended for other primitive churches.

II. *The connexion between the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians.*

The similarity between the two epistles will be apparent from the following parallels:—

Ephes.	Col.
i. 7	i. 14.
i. 10	i. 20.
i. 15-17	i. 3, 4.
i. 18	i. 27.
i. 21	i. 16.
i. 22, etc.	i. 18, etc.
ii. 1, 12	i. 21.
ii. 5	ii. 13.
ii. 15	ii. 14.
ii. 16	i. 20.
iii. 1	i. 24.
iii. 2	i. 25.
iii. 3	i. 26.
iii. 7	i. 23, 25.
iii. 8, etc.	i. 27.
iv. 1	i. 10.
iv. 2	iii. 12, etc.
iv. 3	iii. 14, etc.
iv. 15, etc.	ii. 19.
iv. 19	iii. 1, 5.

Ephes.	Col.
iv. 22, etc.	iii. 8, etc.
iv. 25, etc.	iii. 8, etc.
iv. 29	iii. 8; iv. 6
iv. 31	iii. 8.
iv. 32	iii. 12, etc.
v. 3	iii. 5.
v. 4	iii. 8.
v. 5	iii. 5.
v. 6	iii. 6.
v. 15	iv. 5.
v. 19, etc.	iii. 16, etc.
v. 21	iii. 18.
v. 25	iii. 19.
vi. 1	iii. 20.
vi. 4	iii. 21.
vi. 5, etc.	iii. 22, etc.
vi. 9	iv. 1.
vi. 18, etc.	iv. 2, etc.
vi. 21, etc.	iv. 7, etc.[t]

[s] See Harless's Commentar, Einleit. p. 47, et seq.

[t] A full table of parallel passages printed at length is given by De Wette. See Einleitung, § 146 a. 5th edition.

From this analogy conclusions prejudicial to both have been drawn. De Wette asserts that the epistle to the Ephesians is nothing more than a "verbose enlargement" of the other, without definite object or specific reference; while Mayerhoff[u] decides that it was the original, from which the Colossian letter was imitated and copied. Hence the former questions the authenticity of the Ephesian, the latter that of the Colossian epistle. Both are equally in error. It should be carefully noted that while these compositions contain analogous expressions and sentiments, they exhibit dissimilarities which give each a character of its own. In the epistle to the Colossians there is an avowedly polemical tendency. A heresy which had spread through different districts of Asia Minor is depicted in its main features, and confronted with the exhibitions of eternal truth. In particular, a system of theosophic Jewish christianity had obtained currency at Colosse, which the apostle combats, as opposed to the genuine gospel of Christ. But the letter before us has not a controversial aspect. When closely examined it will be found to consist of living truth exhibited with all the freshness of originality, to serve for confirmation in the faith as well as for promoting unity and steadfastness in the hope of the gospel. In various passages indeed, the Ephesian believers are warned against errors; but the same thing occurs in almost all the epistles of St. Paul. In those places where he shews so vividly that both Jews and Gentiles are one under the gospel—that Christ broke down the middle wall of partition between them by his cross, so that the Gentiles are freely admitted to all the privileges of God's kingdom—there is an intimation that Judaising teachers might hereafter endeavour to disunite them, and to inculcate the necessity of the Mosaic law under the spiritual economy. The apostle foresaw that the Ephesians would be exposed to the corrupt teaching of errorists similar to those who had disturbed the Galatian churches. But his language presupposes nothing more than the probable dissemination of such erroneous tenets. He inculcates truths sufficient to preserve the

[u] Der Brief an die Kolosser mit vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung der drei Pastoralschreiben geprüft, p. 105, et seq.

Ephesian believers from deserting the simplicity of the faith, not in the form of controversy, but of preceptive affirmation. The great facts of Christianity are brought forth in their quickening energy from the gushing fulness of his own heart, where they had been implanted by the divine Spirit. With apostolic fidelity he endeavours to persuade his readers to abide in the belief of one Lord, one faith, one baptism, which they had already professed, without being tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine; and to grow up in living conformity to the Head of the church by bringing out into exercise all the virtues which indicate and adorn the character of the believer. Thus he refutes error by emphatically teaching the truth, while he appears to view the existence of doctrinal aberrations as *probable* rather than *already developed.*

As to the order in which the two epistles were written, it cannot well be ascertained. The point is a difficult one. Were it determined by the number and authority of names, the epistle to the Ephesians would claim to be first written. It is the opinion of Theodoret, Flacius, Baronius, Petavius, Usher, Heidegger, Lightfoot, Pearson, Hammond, Mill, Hottinger, Michaelis, Schmid, Hug, Eichhorn, Feilmoser, Schott, Koehler, Schrader, Lardner, Credner, Guerike, Burton, and Greswell. That the Colossian epistle was written first, is maintained by L. Cappellus, J. J. Lange, De Wette, Neander, Harless, Olshausen, Steiger, Wiggers, Meyer, Wieseler, and others.

The following considerations are urged by the former critics in favour of the priority of the epistle before us:—

First. Paul has not prefixed Timothy's name to it after his own, as he has done in all the epistles he wrote when that faithful friend was at his side. Timothy was called to the capital by the fate of his master, and shared that fate with him till his liberation.

This is the strongest argument in favour of the opinion in question. Lardner thinks it quite *demonstrative;* and Hug relies on it with equal confidence. But it is not so cogent as these writers imagine, for the fact may be explained quite consistently with the opposite opinion.

Schott argues from it that the Ephesian epistle was later, the

apostle having sent Timothy away after the composition of those to the Colossians and Timothy.

Eichhorn's[x] explanation, which resolves the dissimilarity into Timothy's not being the amanuensis in the one as he was in the other, is far-fetched and visionary. Another amanuensis would have named Timothy as readily as himself had the apostle so dictated.

Macknight[y] supposes, that Timothy had left Rome on some necessary business before the epistle to the Ephesians was begun: "For the apostle, in his letter to the Philippians, promised to send Timothy to them soon (chap. ii. 19). And in his epistle to the Hebrews, which was written after his release, he informed them that Timothy was sent away" (Hebrews xiii. 23). This solution is unsatisfactory, because it proceeds on the supposition that the epistle to the Philippians, in which Timothy's name occurs, was composed *before* that to the Ephesians—a supposition evidently contrary to fact.

Harless[z] conjectures, that Timothy was a stranger to the readers of the epistle, and is not noticed on that account. But the probability is that he was acquainted with the *Ephesian* christians, because he had accompanied Paul through Asia (Acts. xx.).

It is not at all necessary to assume, that in the brief interval between the composition of the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, Timothy was not present with the writer. The absence of his name from the epistle is sufficiently explained by the peculiar character of the latter. Onesimus who accompanied Tychicus is also omitted (Ephes. vi. 21, 22 compared with Coloss. iv. 7-9). All individual and personal relations are wanting in the Ephesian letter; and therefore Timothy's name is quite consistently suppressed. Though not mentioned, we believe that Timothy was present, since he is spoken of in the Colossian epistle, which was written contemporaneously.

Secondly. There are also in the Ephesian epistle "no expressions denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epistles

[x] Einleitung in das Neue Testament, vol. iii. p. 279.

[y] On the Epistles, Preface to the Epistle to the Ephesians, § 5.

[z] Commentar, Einleitung, p. 61.

to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. Nor does he here take notice of any successes obtained at Rome, or give any intimations of converts made by him there, as he does in Philipp. i. 12-14; iv. 22. He does not intimate any advantages obtained as yet. Nor does he at the end of this epistle send such salutations as at the end of the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles; when his captivity, as is allowed, was near its period."[a]

We do not attach much weight to these observations. The want of expressions denoting hopes of enlargement is equally apparent in the epistle to the Colossians. Notices of success or of converts are also absent from both epistles. The want of salutations at the conclusion of the epistle to the Ephesians is by no means conclusive against the opinion that the two epistles were written about the same time. As has been already observed, the *argumentum a silentio* is an uncertain foundation for an hypothesis, not to mention the circumstance that Tychicus would doubtless supply the want of such salutations.

Thirdly. It has been said that the epistle to Philemon, which was written and sent along with that to the Colossians, shews the apostle to have been expecting at that time his immediate release, because we find in the twenty-second verse: "I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." Here however the word *shortly* is wanting; while in Philippians ii. 24 it is written, "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come *shortly*."

Fourthly. Another argument is derived from the second chapter of the epistle to the Colossians, where the worshipping of angels and other matters are introduced; whence it is concluded that the writer received intelligence from those parts which he did not possess when he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians. There are also a few *a priori* considerations, which Lardner thinks sufficient to induce the apostle to write to the

[a] Lardner, History of the Apostles and Evangelists, in Works, vol. vi. pp. 33, 34, 8vo. edition.

Ephesians shortly after his arrival at Rome, but they are of no weight or importance. It is true that while there is a considerable resemblance between them there is also a marked difference. The apostle writing to different communities referred to different circumstances. Errors had developed themselves at the one place which had not appeared at the other; and unless it could be shewn that the same false teaching had corrupted both places at the same time, the diversity of statements does not establish an interval of time to allow of the writer receiving new intelligence. It is natural to suppose that the errors described in the epistle to the Colossians had appeared earlier among them than in the Ephesian church.

Other considerations, such as those adduced by Credner, are too precarious to be relied on, for, as Meyer has appositely remarked, they tell just as much in favour of the opposite opinion as that for which the writer adduces them. Psychological arguments cannot determine the question, because subjectivity has too much play in them.

The arguments in favour of the opposite opinion, viz. that the Colossian epistle was first written, are few and may be briefly stated:—

First. On comparing Ephes. vi. 21 with Coloss. iv. 7, we find in the former the conjunction *καί*, thus distinguishing it from what is stated in the latter: "But that ye *also* may know my affairs, what I am doing, Tychicus," etc. The word *also* refers to the Colossians, to whom he wrote the same words.[b] In this case he must have taken it for granted that the Ephesians were acquainted with the contents of the letter addressed to the Colossians, or at least with the fact that such had been sent to the Christians at Colosse.

Secondly. The epistle to Philemon was written at the same time with that to the Colossians, because Onesimus, who carried the former to his old master, went with Tychicus from Rome to Colosse; and we know that both were charged with the letter to the Colossians. But we also learn from Ephes. vi. 21, 22 that

[b] See Harless's Commentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Ephesier, Einleitung, pp. 59, 60, § 2.

Tychicus was the bearer of the letter to the Ephesian church, so that it must have been written very shortly, perhaps a few days, after that to the Colossians. It is not at all probable, taking into account the distance and difficulty of travelling, that Tychicus undertook two separate journeys from Rome, the one with Onesimus to Colosse and Philemon, the other to Ephesus.

Thirdly. In the epistle to the Colossians, as Neander has observed, the apostle's thoughts exhibit themselves in their original formation and connexion, as they were called forth by his opposition to that sect whose sentiments and practices he combats.

We agree with those who assume the priority of the Colossian epistle. The preponderance of argument appears to be in its favour. Though we have already said that the question cannot be accurately decided in a psychological method, yet a comparison of the internal structure and peculiarities of both does certainly seem to intimate the originality of that addressed to the Colossians. The thoughts and language have something about them which shews that they proceeded from the writer *before* the similar thoughts and language of the Ephesian letter.

III. *Genuineness and authenticity.*

The unanimous voice of antiquity assigns the epistle to St. Paul and attests its uncorrupted state. Polycarp alludes to it in his epistle to the Philippians, twelfth chapter: "Ut his scripturis dictum est: Irascimini, et nolite peccare: et: Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram" (Ephes. iv. 26). "As it is expressed in these scriptures, 'Be ye angry and sin not;' and, 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'"

Irenaeus writes: *Καθὼς ὁ μακάριος Παῦλός φησιν, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῇ· ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος, ἐκ τοῦ σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ* (Ephes. v. 30).[c]

"Even as the blessed Paul says in his epistle to the Ephesians, that we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones."

Clement of Alexandria says: *Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους γράφει· ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ* (Ephes. v. 21).[d]

[c] Adversus Haeres. lib. v. 2, § 3. [d] Stromata, lib. iv. p. 499.

"Wherefore he writes also in the epistle to the Ephesians, 'Be ye subject one to another in the fear of God,'" etc.

And in another work: *Σαφέστατα δὲ Ἐφεσίοις γραφὼν, ἀπεκάλυψε τὸ ζητούμενον, ὧδέ πως λέγων· Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον, κ. τ. λ.* (Ephes. iv. 13, 14).[e]

"Writing to the Ephesians, he has most clearly unfolded that which is sought for, in this manner. Till we all come into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness," etc.

The testimony of Tertullian has already been adduced. The epistle is also contained in Marcion's canon, and in the list of books given by Eusebius as universally received by Christians. Marcion did not question *the authenticity*, but thought that it was meant for other *readers* than the Ephesians.

The Valentinians, as we learn from Irenaeus,[f] adduced in their favour such passages as i. 10; iii. 21; v. 32. Ptolemy[g] quoted Ephes. ii. 15; and Theodotus[h] appealed to iv. 24, 30. All succeeding writers acknowledge the epistle as an authentic production of the apostle addressed to the Ephesians. Thus external evidence is irresistibly strong in establishing the divine authority of the letter before us. The testimonies of Polycarp and Irenaeus in particular are most important, because the former was a disciple of the apostle John; and we know that John lived in Ephesus for a long time. Polycarp must have known that his master held the epistle to have been written by Paul. Irenaeus again was a disciple of Polycarp, inheriting his sentiments respecting the sacred writings.

Nor is the internal evidence less decisive or unambiguous. The structure and unusual length of the periods; the richness, variety, and exalted tone of the expressions, many of which are *characteristic* of the apostle; the depth of religious feeling manifested; the warmth of heart exhibited; the outpouring of the most sublime sentiments in the most emphatic words, all refer to the great apostle of the Gentiles.

[e] Paedag. lib. i. p. 88.
[f] Adv. Haeres, i. 3, 8.
[g] In Epiphanius, Haeres. xxxiii. 5.
[h] Epitom. c. 19.

But notwithstanding the character of the epistle itself, it has not escaped censure. Its authenticity has been denied or questioned by various writers. The assault of Evanson is now happily forgotten. But in more recent times De Wette, Usteri, and Baur have impugned the authorship more or less decidedly. De Wette's doubts proceed in a large degree from want of sympathy with the spirit of the letter. They are the offspring of the writer's *subjective feelings* rather than *objective realities*.

Let us examine the phenomena, which are supposed by him to indicate another writer than Paul. They are the following:—

1. The dependent character of our epistle. It is largely derived from that to the Colossians, a phenomenon without example except in the case of the first epistle to Timothy, and unworthy of such a writer as Paul. This relation of dependence on the Colossian letter is seen in

(*a*) the section i. 3—ii. 10. Here several passages agree nearly or wholly in words, such as i. 7, 10; ii. 1, 5. The same expression *καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας* is found in ii. 1 and in Coloss. i. 13. The term *πλήρωμα* (i. 23) is used differently from the same in Col. i. 19; ii. 9. The word *μυστήριον* also (i. 9) is employed with greater latitude of meaning than in Col. i. 26, etc. Ephes. iii. 6.

(*b*) Though the section ii. 11-22 be tolerably independent, yet even here the author has borrowed something from the Colossian epistle, just as if he could not write independently. Thus *περιτομὴ χειροποίητος* (verse 11) is taken from Col. ii. 11 (*περιτομὴ ἀχειροποίητος*); *ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι* (verse 12) from Col. i. 21; *ἐν δόγμασι* (verse 15) from Col. ii. 14; *ἀποκαταλλάξαι* (verse 16) from Col. i. 20. The entire passage (v. 14-17) is based on Col. i. 20; ii. 14; and even *αὔξει* (verse 12) appears to chime in with Col. ii. 19.

(*c*) The paragraph iii. 1-21 has for its basis Col. i. 24-29, except that the simple self-mention of the apostle and his imprisonment is joined with a solemn request to the Ephesians to intercede with God in prayer for him; but for this very reason the construction is disturbed in a manner unlike that of the apostle. In verses 2, 7 appear phrases from Col. i. 25. Verse 8 is nothing more than Col. i. 27 paraphrased in a somewhat different sense. Verse 5 corresponds with Col. i. 26, but has

another meaning than the apostle's; while an idea is put into it which he could not have expressed in such a manner. Verse 16 reminds the reader of Col. i. 11. Verses 18, 19 have probably been moulded after Col. ii. 2, etc., and the obscure *τί τὸ πλάτος*, *κ. τ. λ.*, can only be explained by Col. ii. 3.

(*d*) Again; the hortatory section (iv. 1-16) is tolerably independent; but here too we meet with phrases and ideas taken from the Colossian letter. Thus verse 1 is from Col. i. 10; verses 2-4 from Col. iii. 12-15. A *σύνδεσμος τῆς εἰρήνης* is formed from *σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος* (Col. iii. 14), by combination with the following *καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη*, *κ. τ. λ.* Verse 16 is borrowed almost verbatim from Col. ii. 19, but there is something forced in the way it is used.

(*e*) In the remaining admonitions contained in iv. 17—vi. 20, there is a parallelism to Col. iii. 5—iv. 4, less apparent at first, but quite decided towards the end. The general exhortation (iv. 17-22) is indeed in the first part of it (verses 17-21) almost wholly independent; but verses 22-24 correspond pretty closely in words with Col. iii. 8-10. The prohibition of individual vices that follows (iv. 25-31) is an enlargement of Col. iii. 8, etc., but in the twenty-ninth verse Col. iv. 6 has also been used. The exhortation to Christian virtues (iv. 32—v. 1) agrees closely with Col. iii. 12, etc., *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, *πραότης*, *μακροθυμία*, *ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων* being omitted, because they had been previously introduced into the second verse. And because Col. iii. 5, etc. had not yet been worked up by the writer, he turns back to it in a second negative admonition (v. 3-14), using besides Col. iii. 8, drawing from Col. iii. 15 the term *εὐχαριστία*, and borrowing assistance too from 1 Cor. vi. 9, etc.; Gal. v. 21. Verses 7-14 form an independent piece. The positive admonition contained in v. 15-21 has for its basis Col. iv. 5 in the first part (verses 15-17); and afterwards Col. iii. 16, etc. Verse 21 forms a transition to the succeeding admonition to the discharge of domestic duties, parallel to Col. iii. 18—iv. 1, in which admonitory paragraph some verses are independent, though in most of it there is an almost verbal imitation.

(*f*) The exhortation in vi. 10-20 is at first (verses 10-17) moulded after a passage in the first epistle to the Thessalonians,

v. 8, with the aid of Isaiah lix. 17. Verses 18 - 20 are parallel to Col. iv. 2 - 4; but Philipp. iv. 6 is also used.

(*g*) The writer did not know any thing personal to adduce except the mention of Tychicus in vi. 21, etc., which is copied almost verbatim from Col. iv. 7, etc.

2. There are several passages in the epistle which prove a stumblingblock to the reader who is acquainted with the Pauline writings. The apostle Paul could scarcely appeal to some hints in reference to the *μυστήριον*, which had been given before, as to a *specimen doctrinae*, which the author makes him do in iii. 3, etc. The combination of *apostles* and *prophets* (ii. 20; iii. 5) is unapostolic; the mention of the doctrine of justification is scarcely consonant with the apostle's wisdom in teaching (ii. 8 - 10); the arbitrary use of the Psalm in iv. 8 is foreign to him, and still more the quotation of a passage not in the Bible (v. 14). After these phenomena, the demonological passages (ii. 2; vi. 12), the characteristics of God (i. 17; iii. 9, 15), the prominent mention of the Old Testament promise (v. 2, etc.), the prohibition of stealing (iv. 28), may be called strange and peculiar.

3. The mode of writing betrays a perceptible falling away from that of Paul (*a*) in regard to rhetoric and syntax. The author aimed at presenting the main points of the Christian salvation-doctrine according to the creed of Paul, and after the type of Col. i., in the first three chapters of the epistle; and in order to have more space for this, he prefixes a general thanksgiving (i. 3 - 14), such as appears nowhere in Paul's writings, but only in 1 Peter i. 3, et seq. In this he departs from the pattern. Notwithstanding such endeavour to get a wider field for description, how imperfectly does he solve the problem undertaken! Twice he turns back to it (i. 18, etc.; iii. 5, etc.), not to mention the parallel passage (ii. 11, etc). Laboriously does he spin out the thread, tying it when broken in several places (i. 6, 7, 9, 10, 19). The construction at iii. 2 - 14 is interrupted in such a mode as Paul perhaps would have allowed (Philemon 12); but he would not have resumed the thread of discourse in the very obscure way effected by the thirteenth verse. The connexion of v. 21 with the preceding by the participle is unsuitable. The constructions *ἴστε γινώσκοντες* (v. 5), *ἵνα φοβῆται* (v. 33), *ἵνα* with the

optative (i. 17; iii. 16), the genitive πνεύματος (ii. 2), are strange. We find here more frequently than in Paul's epistles specifying adjuncts to substantives without the article intervening, as i. 3, 15; ii. 7, 11, 15, 21; iii. 1, 4, 13; iv. 1, 16, etc. Allegories so far drawn out as to be plays on ideas or words cannot be found in Paul like those in v. 26, etc.; vi. 11, etc. As little can such a breadth as is met with in ii. 18. An accumulation of words appears in i. 11, 19, vi. 10, ii. 7, iii. 12, 21; superfluous forms of expression, or such as serve at least only for ornament (ii. 6, etc. 21; iii. 21; i. 6, 14; iii. 16), are unlike the apostle's style. The obscurity of various passages that cause so much perplexity to the interpreter, the reason of which lies in part in the vacilating mode of thought peculiar to the writer (v. 12, etc., 15, etc., 30, etc., vi. 9), may be also reckoned among the grounds for suspicion. Lastly; the salutation (vi. 23, etc.) is unpauline.

(*b*) In the *usus loquendi*, and in the stock of words employed, not a few things seem strange. It is true, that so called ἅπαξ λεγόμενα cannot certainly prove diversity of authorship; but when ideas and images are designated differently here from Paul's usual and frequent method, the thing cannot be accidental. To this head belong such expressions as τὰ ἐπουράνια, *heaven* (i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; vi. 12); τὰ πνευματικά, *spirits* (vi. 12); διάβολος (iv. 27; vi. 11), (elsewhere only in first and second Timothy); κοσμοκράτωρ (vi. 12); σωτήριον (vi. 16). In connexion with such marks of diversity, examples of a different use of words elsewhere employed by Paul are of importance, such as περιποίησις (i. 14, comp. 1 Peter ii. 9); οἰκονομία (i. 10; iii. 2, 9); μυστήριον (v. 32); εὐλογία (i. 3); αἰών (ii. 2); ἀφθαρσία (vi. 24); μανθάνειν (iv. 20); φωτίζειν (iii. 9); πληροῦσθαι, with ἐν (v. 18); βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ (v. 5); τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου (v. 17).

Such are the grounds adduced by De Wette for rejecting the Pauline authorship of the present epistle. He allows that it was written by a disciple of the apostles, but not by an apostle himself; putting it in the same category as the pastoral epistles and the first of Peter.[1]

[1] Exegetisches Handbuch, kurze Erklärung der Briefe an die Colosser, an Philemon, an die Ephesier und Philipper. 2nd edition, Einleit. 2, p. 88, et seq.

Baur[k] and his disciples[l] agree with the writer in rejecting the epistle, partly on the same grounds, and partly on others peculiar to themselves. They bring down the composition of it, as they do that of most other epistles in the New Testament, into the middle of the second century; supposing that Gnostic and Montanist ideas and expressions are contained in it. But their mode of reasoning is so arbitrary that the Germans themselves shrink back from it. It has not met with much success, even in a land where crude theories in religion are so eagerly welcomed. It were therefore an idle waste of time to enter into any minute statement and refutation of the Tübingen criticism relative to this epistle in particular.

We have quoted De Wette's suspicions and doubts against the authenticity of the Ephesian letter rather as a fair specimen of *German subjectivity* than with a view of canvassing them step by step. It is sometimes instructive to look at the sort of evidence by means of which men can persuade themselves that a writing is supposititious. What minute learning and laborious diligence do they squander away in trying to shew something that cannot be proved. In the present instance, it is obvious to the practical common sense of any calm inquirer, that *testimony* and *the degree of weight* attaching to it are very imperfectly apprehended by the learned critic. Of the value of testimony, he seems to be an incompetent judge. The authenticity of the epistle is unshaken, if this is all that can be brought against it. The attack indeed is directed by a minute and microscopic skill which nothing seems to have escaped; but after all it is utterly ineffective and impotent. So convinced are we of this, that it will not be accompanied with a refutation of each successive particular, though it has been drawn out almost in the entire length in which the writer himself exhibits it. It is only needful to present a few observations, leaving sound sense to dispose of any separate point that may create difficulty, by assigning it *its proper worth* in the scale of evidence.

1. Much use is made of the connexion subsisting between the

[k] See his Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, u. s. w. p. 417, et seq.

[l] See Schwegler, in Zeller's Jahrbb. for 1844, p. 378, et seq.

twin epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, in the way of impugning the latter. For this purpose, the points of resemblance are carefully brought together. But the points of difference should also have been brought into view. *They* should have been made equally prominent. This however has not been done. The striking similarity of the two is sufficiently explained by the fact of their being written about the same time, when the same thoughts were fresh in the writer's mind, and frequently the same expressions. Let the reader look carefully at the particulars accumulated by De Wette under this head, and judge whether the similarity be such as an imitator of the Colossian epistle would be likely to produce. That another than Paul should have composed the Ephesian letter, with the peculiar kind of resemblance and of dissimilarity it bears to its predecessor, is a phenomenon totally inexplicable. A forger could have had no special object in view, else he has not attained it; for there is nothing special in our epistle. That he should have blended ideas and expressions borrowed from Paul with remarkable deviations and peculiarities, is a fact that cannot be resolved on this hypothesis. An imitator would have produced a very different letter; one more formal, specific, *uniformly* and mechanically dependent. He would not have exhibited so much that bears the stamp of originality. He would not have departed from his model so often as to write an epistle remarkable for its peculiarities—differing in some respects from all the other letters of Paul.

It might be easily shewn that various statements advanced under this head are incorrect. Thus the term μυστήριον has the same sense in i. 9 and in iii. 6, Col. i. 26, etc. Again; to say that the writer of the epistle knew nothing personal to adduce except the mention of Tychicus in vi. 21, etc., is saying far more than can be substantiated. It is consistent with *the general* character of the letter to avoid *circumstantiality* in relation to persons; and it is a gratuitous assertion to resolve that *general* character into *ignorance* on the part of the unknown penman. Surely too it is akin to the absurd to declare that Philipp. iv. 6 was collated in writing Ephes. vi. 18 - 20.

2. There is a mistake here regarding μυστήριον. The apostle

appeals to his readers, as having heard of his commission to make known the grace of God for their benefit; the hidden truth that the kingdom of Messiah was to be extended to the Gentiles being revealed to him. The combination of the two, *apostles* and *prophets*, in ii. 20, iii. 5, cannot be pronounced *unapostolic*, simply because it does not appear in any other of the Pauline epistles. How can one venture to call it *unpauline*, or inappropriate to the apostle's time? When De Wette says moreover, that the manner of mentioning the doctrine of justification in ii. 8 - 10 is hardly consonant with the apostle's wisdom in teaching, we must acknowledge with Neander that we are unable to perceive the incongruity. Every thing in the passage seems to harmonise with the genuine Pauline doctrine. In all his epistles, Paul expresses the fundamental truth, that in Christianity all without exception owe their salvation to free grace, which gratuitous salvation necessarily manifests itself by the practice of good works. No passage could be more harmonious with the entire doctrine of the epistle to the Romans than the present one.

Again; in iv. 8 there is a *free application* of part of a psalm rather than an *arbitrary use* of it. Examples of a like nature may be seen in the epistle to the Romans, x. 6, etc. The passage in v. 14 presents something remarkable, but nothing to invalidate the authenticity of the letter in which it is found. Analogous expressions occur in Isaiah xxvi. 19 and lx. 1 - 3, which the apostle may have had in his mind when writing. And why should the prohibition of stealing be reckoned strange? The apostle had no false delicacy. He was writing to heathens who had been converted to Christianity. Their former evil propensities adhered to them in a greater or less degree after the reception of the new religion. If, then, it was necessary to speak to them of such lingering sinfulness, why should the apostle be blamed?

3. As to the charge of degeneracy in style, we are persuaded that it cannot be fairly substantiated. The language is fuller than that employed in the Colossian epistle; but it breathes the same spirit, and betrays the same writer. It is surprising that a writer of De Wette's taste should pronounce the epistle a *verbose enlargement* of the Colossian, charging it with multiplicity of

words and poverty of ideas. Nothing appears to us more groundless than the alleged poverty of thought. The language is rich and copious, but it is every where pregnant with meaning. Not a word is superfluous. If therefore the epistle has more words than that sent to the Colossians, it has more ideas. We admit that the construction is often irregular and interrupted; but this is exemplified in the first chapter of *the Colossian* epistle.

The peculiarity of style which strikes every one in reading the present epistle, may be generally explained by the want of a specific object and aim observable in it. The writer had no *polemic purpose*, as he had in writing to the Colossians. He had resolved to abstain from *personal references*. He had no *particular doctrine to prove*, as in the epistle to the Romans. Hence he allowed the full stream of his thoughts to flow forth in uninterrupted course, without much regard to periodic structure. So various were the aspects and mutual relations of those great thoughts, that they could scarcely avoid being presented in periods of many members linked in, the one with the other. In other epistles, the periods are shorter, and better fitted in succession to one another. They are of more limited extent and definite form, because the writer had some definite aim. But the character of the present leaves the apostle at full liberty to speak of the blessings treasured up in Christ and freely bestowed on his people, with unrestrained and elevated enlargement. His ideas on the subject of salvation are too big to be cramped by the confines of customary periods. With exhaustless copiousness they gush forth in manifold abundance, disdaining the logical links of argumentation. While therefore the style is elevated simply because it is the vehicle of lofty thoughts—while there is a copiousness of words because the richness of divine grace is depicted—there is irregularity and intricacy in the syntactical structure. This entanglement we freely admit, without going so far as Erasmus, who remarks:—"*Stylus tantum dissonat a caeteris Pauli epistolis, ut alterius videri possit, nisi pectus atque indoles Paulinae mentis hanc prorsus illi vindicaret.*"

As to the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, the argument derived from them is now well nigh abandoned, for they are not more numerous than those of the epistle to the Colossians, where, in the first two

chapters, as many as forty occur. To limit the apostle exactly to the same stock of words is most unreasonable. His mind was too large, his ideas too numerous, for the employment of *the same terms* in his various epistles.

The different use of words specified in (*b*) is perfectly allowable. Most of the examples however are irrelevant. The apostle *does* employ the terms given in the same *sense*.

These general observations must suffice. We are fully convinced that *every part* of the argument might be successfully combated, were it at all needful. And now English readers may be disposed to ask, Is this all that can be brought against the epistle's authenticity? It *is* the strongest and most skilfully constructed bulwark that has been yet reared; for the objections of the Tübingen school are monstrously extravagant—arbitrary and hypercritical in the extreme. How vain therefore to argue thus against the epistle. Let it be judged philosophically, impartially, fairly, and it has nothing to fear. But if *subjective feelings* be allowed to sit in final judgment on it so capriciously, the result may be anticipated. It will be summarily condemned. If there were the least apprehension of the doubts and suspicions entertained against our epistle becoming general, we should occupy our pages with as full and complete a refutation of them as our ability would furnish. But for England this were a work of supererogation. Even in Germany, most critics and commentators who examine the epistle combat De Wette's objections. Credner himself, whom none will accuse of conservative leanings, argues against them. They are best handled by Lünemann,[m] Rückert,[n] Hemsen,[o] Harless,[p] Meyer,[q] and Neander;[r] by the first three more copiously, by the last three more briefly. The curious therefore are referred to the works of these six critics for satisfactory replies—not so full indeed as might be furnished,

[m] De Epistolae quam Paulus, u. s. w. p. 6, et seq.

[n] Der Brief Pauli an die Epheser erläutert und vertheidigt, p. 289, et seq.

[o] Der Apostel Paulus, u. s. w. p. 629, et seq.

[p] Commentar, Einleit. § 3, p. lxvi. et seq.

[q] Der Brief an die Ephesier, § 3. Einleit. p. 20, et seq.

[r] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. 4th edit. vol. i. p. 521, note 2.

nor so satisfactory in every respect as we should wish, but sufficient notwithstanding to demonstrate the impotence of the attack.

IV. *Time and place of writing.*

At whatever time and place this epistle was composed, it is easy to discover that those addressed to the Colossians and Philemon, and probably that to the Philippians, belong to the same period and locality. The four were written during the apostle's imprisonment. This is shewn by such passages as Ephes. iii. 1, 13, iv. 1, vi. 19; Phil. i. 7, 12, 14, ii. 17; Col. i. 24, iv. 3, 7; Philem. 9. These notices direct us at once to the *two* occasions on which the author was a captive at Caesarea and at Rome; for the short captivity at Philippi, mentioned in Acts xvi. 23, etc., cannot be taken into account. Beza, indeed, appears to have thought that the epistle was written at *some* captivity preceding the Roman; but it is unfair with Bertholdt[s] to suppose that he thought particularly of the one *at Philippi*. His words at least do not justify the supposition. Is there any ground for concluding that some of the epistles should be dated from the one, some from the other city? They cannot be divided between the two captivities, because they all represent the apostle as surrounded with the same persons. These are Timothy, Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Demas, Luke, Tychicus, and Onesimus. Compare Phil. i. 1; Philem. 1; Col. i. 7, iv. 12; Philem. 23, 24; Col. iv. 10, 14; Ephes. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7, iv. 9; Philem. 10. It may be objected, that no mention of Timothy occurs in the epistle to the Ephesians; but this fact can form no valid ground for concluding that the letter should not be assigned to the same period with the other three.

How then can it be ascertained whether the four were written at the former or latter city? Are we to decide in favour of the apostle's captivity at Caesarea or at Rome; the former noticed in Acts xxiii. 23-26, the latter in Acts xxviii. 30? The prevailing opinion has always been in favour of the latter. But Schulz,[t]

[s] Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 2833.

[t] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1829, Heft. 3, p. 612, et seq.

followed by Schott,[u] Böttger,[x] Wiggers,[y] and Meyer,[z] think that Caesarea was the place of his imprisonment during their composition. On the other hand, Graul,[a] in a separate dissertation, Neander,[b] Olshausen,[c] and Guerike[d] adhere to the ancient and prevailing hypothesis. We shall now allude to the evidence on both sides.

1. The apostle's close confinement at Caesarea rendered it impossible for him to procure intelligence from the Christian churches abroad, and therefore he was hardly prepared to write epistles to them. It is true, that his acquaintance were not forbidden "to minister or come unto him," but such license did not extend to preaching or disputations, or to the bearing of news from him and to him. The Jews were vigilant and violent against him; the Roman governor strict; and all that his friends were permitted to do was to supply his necessities and minister to his bodily health.

2. The mention of *Caesar's house* and *the palace* (Philipp. i. 13, iv. 22) points to Rome rather than Caesarea. These particulars indeed are found in the epistle to the Philippians alone, and go to prove no more than *its* composition in Italy; but other considerations, derived from the three remaining epistles, favour *their* Roman origin.

3. Paul had an opportunity of preaching the gospel, though he was a prisoner, which he cannot be supposed to have enjoyed in Caesarea (Eph. vi. 19, 20).

4. In the Acts of the Apostles, we find that both Aristarchus and Luke were at Rome (xxvii. 2); and in Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, they are represented to be with the apostle. It is exceedingly doubtful whether they were with him at Caesarea. It is more probable also that Onesimus, a slave who had run away from his master Philemon, should have repaired to Rome than to Caesarea,

[u] Isagoge, p. 272. [x] Beiträge, Theil. 2, p. 47, et seq.

[y] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1841, Heft. 2, p. 436, et seq.

[z] Kommentar, Einleit. § 2, p. 16, et seq.

[a] De Schulzii et Schottii Sententiâ, etc. 8vo. Leipzig, 1836.

[b] History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, etc. English translation, vol. i. p. 373, et seq.

[c] Commentar über Ephes. Einleit. § 3, p. 131.

[d] Historisch-kritische, Einleit. p. 370, et seq.

even though it did require a long sea-voyage; because, as Matthies remarks, the farther he was from Colossae, the safer he would be. The former place presented greater inducements and protection to such an one.

Much weight cannot be attached to the arguments for Caesarea. Let us briefly allude to them.

1. In Acts xxvii. 2 it is related that Aristarchus alone accompanied Paul and Luke from Caesarea. In the second epistle to Timothy, which is generally acknowledged to have been sent from Rome, Luke alone is spoken of as being with the apostle. On the other hand, we gather from Acts xx. 4, that Aristarchus, Timothy, and Trophimus were with him at Caesarea. From a comparison of these passages and the supposed improbability of so many individuals being with Paul at Rome, it is inferred that he was in Caesarea, where it was much easier for them to assemble. We object to the conclusion derived from Acts xx. 4, that Aristarchus, Timothy, and Tophimus were at Caesarea with the apostle. It is neither certain nor probable that they visited that locality at the same time. De Wette allows that all the friends already enumerated might gather round Paul at Rome as well as at Caesarea; and the passages adduced to prove that only some of them were with him at the former city, are as cogent at least as those advanced to prove that some of them (not all) were with him at the latter. The *argumentum a silentio* is precarious and uncertain. The closeness of his incarceration in Palestine militates against the supposition that these individuals were allowed free intercourse with the illustrious prisoner.

2. It is farther alleged, that Onesimus was with Paul πρὸς ὥραν (Philemon 15) *very soon* after leaving his master at Colosse; a circumstance better suited to Caesarea than Rome. But this is a wrong interpretation of the phrase. It should be taken in connexion with the verb ἐχωρίσθη, implying that he was separated from his master *for a season*, not *that he arrived soon at Paul's abode* after fleeing from Colosse.

3. The distance of the churches in Asia Minor from Rome has always been urged, in connexion with the difficulty of procuring intelligence respecting them at so remote a locality. But surely some of the apostle's friends were employed by him on missions

to these and other communities. His solicitude for the spread of the gospel led him to procure information about the state of religion in the churches he had founded or visited; and the ardent companions who evinced feelings of the strongest attachment towards him were ready to undertake any journey for the sake of promoting Christianity.

4. It has been supposed that Paul's request to Philemon (22), to prepare a lodging for him, is inconsistent with Romans xv. 24, in which he avows his purpose to visit Spain, rather than return to Asia. But this determination was expressed some years before his captivity; and circumstances seem to have altered it. There is no evidence that he went into Spain.

5. That Caesarea was the place whence the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were dispatched has also been inferred from the fact that Onesimus, the companion of Tychicus who carried both, is not mentioned in the former epistle (Ephes. vi. 22); whereas he is introduced into the latter (Col. iv. 8, 9). Setting out from Caesarea, they would reach Colosse first; and there Onesimus would remain. Hence, because he was not to proceed to Ephesus, he is not commended to the church at that place.

This is more ingenious than solid. Granting its correctness, it has no more than a feeble bearing on the question. It is farther stated by Wiggers, that the expressions, "Whom I have sent unto you that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts," introduced into both epistles (Ephes. vi. 22 and Col. iv. 8), intimate that it was a matter of indifference whether Tychicus proceeded to Ephesus or to Colosse first, as would be true if he set out from Caesarea but not from Rome, because in the latter case he must pass through Ephesus to Colosse. This argument presupposes that the reading of Ephes. vi. 22 and Col. iv. 8 is the same, as Schulz and Lachmann exhibit it. It differs however in the received text with which Griesbach, Knapp, and Tischendorf agree. But surely there was nothing improper or unnatural in the journeying of Tychicus and his companion to Ephesus and thence to Colosse, as would probably happen if they started from Rome. It is true that Onesimus is not mentioned in the Ephesian letter; but it was not

necessary to specify him when he accompanied the bearer of an epistle from Paul. Having such a friend and associate he needed no introduction. The expressions which have been quoted from both epistles do not imply that it was a matter of indifference whether Tychicus proceeded to Ephesus or Colosse first. The bearer of them probably went both to Ephesus and Colosse, delivering them in succession. On the whole, no weight can be attached to these new arguments of Wiggers. Taken separately they are feeble and inconclusive; considered together they are obviously irreconcilable. They neutralise each other.

Böttger has endeavoured to shew that the expressions *the palace* (Phil. i. 13) and *Caesar's house* (iv. 22) might be applied to Herod's palace at Caesarea. But it is very doubtful whether the residence of Herod, to whom belonged no higher title than *king* (*βασιλεύς*), could be called *the house of Caesar*. It is difficult to convince the unprejudiced reader that *οἰκία Καίσαρος* has any other meaning than the imperial palace at Rome.

In view of all the arguments advanced on both sides—those of Schulz, Wiggers, Böttger, and Meyer, on the one hand, with Graul's observations on the other—we adhere to the opinion that the four epistles were composed during the apostle's captivity at Rome. The considerations indeed in favour of this hypothesis are not so decisive as to overwhelm the other; neither are they so convincing as to silence all inquiry in another direction. Yet they are much more plausible than those alleged in support of Caesarea. Let the reader attend to Ephes. vi. 19, 20, comparing those words with Acts xxviii. 16-31, and he will probably infer that the Roman imprisonment is meant. Besides, it is wholly uncertain, as has been already remarked, whether Aristarchus and Luke were with Paul at Caesarea; while it is manifest that they were with him in Rome (Acts xxviii. 2). Both are mentioned in Col. iv. 10 and Philemon 24. We are ready to allow that many circumstances stated in favour of the ancient opinion have little weight or worth. Yet importance must be attached to those first mentioned. None of the considerations urged by Schulz and his followers seem to possess equal value. Indeed Schulz's arguments refer chiefly to the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon. They do not affect the Ephesian letter, with one

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II. (*a*) iv. 1-16. The apostle beseeches his readers to keep the unity of the faith and avoid divisions, informing them that all the different offices and stations in the church were intended to promote the edification, unity, and perfection of the entire body.

(*b*) iv. 16—v. 21. He exhorts them to walk no longer after the manner of the heathen, but to put off the old man, and to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, annexing a series of moral precepts appropriate to Christians in all circumstances.

(*c*) v. 21—vi. 9. From general relations the apostle passes to special, treating first of the duties belonging to husbands and wives, and representing the conjugal connexion as similar to that subsisting between Christ and his church; secondly, of the reciprocal duties of parents and children; and thirdly, of the duties arising out of the relation between master and servant.

(*d*) vi. 9-24. The apostle's language again becomes general. Believers are described as soldiers fighting for truth and righteousness against a host of enemies, and the spiritual armour they need in so great a conflict is minutely stated. In conclusion, the apostle requests an interest in the prayers of the Ephesian christians, refers them to Tychicus the bearer of the epistle, who should inform them of his personal circumstances, and closes with the customary benediction.

Such is a very brief analysis of the epistle.

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

In examining the Epistle to the Philippians, we shall arrange our observations under the following heads:—

I. State some Circumstances connected with the City of Philippi itself.
II. The Time and Place at which the Epistle was written.
III. The Person by whom it was sent.
IV. State of the Church at the Time Paul wrote to it.
V. Occasion and Object of Writing.
VI. Some Peculiarities in the Exordium and Conclusion of the Letter.
VII. Genuineness and Authenticity.
VIII. Unity of the Epistle.
IX. Analysis of Contents.

I. *Some circumstances connected with the city of Philippi itself.*

Philippi originally belonged to Thrace, but was afterwards reckoned to Macedonia. According to Diodorus Siculus,[a] it was formerly called *Κρηνίδες*, from the numerous springs in the vicinity. It was situated on a rising ground beyond the river Strymon, where the Thracian Haemus slopes towards the sea, opposite the island of Thasus. Philip, perceiving the importance of the situation, repaired and enlarged the town, fortifying it against the incursions of the Thracians. From him it was called Philippi (B.C. 358). The battles fought in its vicinity are remarkable in history, especially the second, with which its name is more immediately identified. In Acts xvi. 12, Luke notices

[a] xvi. 4, 8.

it in the following terms: "*The chief* city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony." The meaning of this clause has given rise to considerable diversity of opinion. There is no ground for doubting the correctness of the received reading and having recourse to conjectural emendation. When Paulus Aemilius conquered Perseus, he divided Macedonia into four parts or regions; to *the first* of which Philippi was assigned. Yet Amphipolis was *the metropolis* of the division. Πρώτη cannot mean *the leading city*, or *the capital*. Neither can it be shewn, that after the battle of Philippi it was elevated to the rank which Amphipolis had previously enjoyed. Some think that πρώτη designates *locality*, *i. e.* the first Macedonian city which one coming from Proconsular Asia would naturally arrive at. There is some geographical difficulty connected with this opinion, since, on such ground, Neapolis would claim the title *first*. Rettig,[b] and after him Winer and Van Hengel, assign the following sense: "which is the first city (from the sea) of the province of Macedonia," *i. e.* of Macedonia proper, whither Paul had been directed by a vision. This interpretation is not natural. Why should a maritime town of Macedonia, like Neapolis, be denied the appellation *first*, in geographical relation to a person coming from Troas to Macedonia? Why should the measurement begin with the sea on which Neapolis is situated, rather than the country or place from which the apostle set out on his way to Macedonia? Surely the latter is more natural. It is better to understand πρώτη of *rank* than of *locality;* and thus the true sense has been given by our translators, viz. "*the chief* city of that part of Macedonia." Philippi enjoyed certain privileges conferred on it by the Romans. It was a Roman colony; Julius Caesar having allowed numbers whom he had expatriated in consequence of their adherence to Anthony, to inhabit it and other towns in the same district. The rights it possessed, the *jus Italicum*, were granted by him; and to them Augustus may have added others, perhaps the title πρώτη πόλις—a title which did not convey much real advantage. It is objected, however, that the honourable appellation in question belonged only to the cities

[b] Quaestiunc. Philipp. p. 3, et seq.

of Asia Minor under the Romans, such as Nicomedia, Nicaea, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus, as ancient coins shew; while none of the coins relating to Philippi bear the same title. In reply, we refer with Credner to the near connexion between it and Asia Minor, as also to the emptiness of the epithet itself.

The apostle visited the city on his second missionary journey, accompanied by Silas, Timothy, and Luke. This was perhaps about the year of our Lord 51 or 52. He preached in a Jewish *proseucha*, for there was no synagogue. On this occasion, Lydia believed. But he suffered severely from the selfish heathen, and the rash magistrates of the place by whom he was imprisoned. After a short stay, he left the city (Acts xvi). During his absence, Luke, Epaphroditus, and perhaps Clement (iv. 3), with others not mentioned, laboured to carry forward the work, by enlarging and strengthening the church which Paul had founded. On his third missionary tour from Corinth to Jerusalem, he visited it again (Acts xx); but this may have been *the third* time; for it appears from 2 Cor. vii. 5, 6, that he met Titus in Macedonia, and wrote thence — probably from Philippi — his second epistle to the Corinthians, as the subscription states.

Thus Philippi was the first European town which received the gospel. The standard of divine truth was planted where the standards of contending armies had formerly met. But the glory of a mighty conflict, embodying the antagonistic spirit of republicanism and despotism, fades before the peaceful victory of the cross. The historian of Rome will ever point to Philippi as the scene of a memorable struggle, and lament over the fallen Brutus, the stern defender of his country's freedom; but the religious historian will prefer to speak of a spiritual victory achieved by the gospel, and a glorious freedom communicated thence to the Philippian citizens. Brutus and Cassius, Augustus and Anthony, vanish from the view of enlightened patriotism before Paul and Silas, Luke and Epaphroditus; victors nobler far than blood-stained Romans at the head of sanguinary armies.

II. *The time and place at which the epistle was written.*

Several circumstances were stated in a former page to prove that the epistle was written during *the Roman*, not *the Caesarean*, captivity. These need not be repeated. The term πραιτώριον has been applied to Caesarea by Böttger. It is certainly used of the palace of Herod at Caesarea. It is also applied to the residence or palace belonging to the procurator of any Roman province (Matthew xxvii. 27, Mark xv. 16, John xviii. 28 - 33, xix. 9). But in the present epistle it appears to mean *the camp* or *quarters* of the praetorian cohort at Rome, who formed the imperial bodyguard. To the prefect or captain of this praetorian cohort Paul was delivered, or at least his fellow-prisoners.

It has been alleged that Acts xxiii. 35 compared with xxviii. 16 shews Paul to have been kept *in the praetorium* at Caesarea; while, on the other hand, he was allowed to have *his own house* at Rome; and therefore that the term here employed in relation to his imprisonment must point to the former place. But it is not stated in our epistle that he *resided* in the praetorium; all that is asserted is, that his imprisonment in the cause of Christ was well known ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ.

The expression, οἰκία Καίσαρος, is tolerably clear in favour of Rome. Herod could scarcely be termed Caesar. This were an unusual and unauthorised application of the title. It belongs to Nero, the reigning emperor, not to Herod. Had Caesarea been meant, we should have expected some other expression, either πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου, as in Acts xxiii. 35, or οἰκία τοῦ Ἡρώδου, or οἰκία τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, or πραιτώριον alone. Even *the tropical* sense of οἰκία Καίσαρος will not favour Caesarea, whether it mean *relatives* or *servants;* for why should *they* be in Caesarea rather than Rome? Hence we infer that the letter was written during *the Roman* rather than *the Caesarean* captivity. And with this conclusion the contents of the epistle best agree. The critical state in which the writer was, his appeal to the emperor as the last resource, his activity in the cause of truth, all point to Rome rather than Caesarea. As to Corinth being the place of writing, it needs only to be mentioned to be rejected. Oeder stands alone in holding such a view. Caesarea is a little more

probable in the light of Böttger's observations,[c] but it cannot stand examination. It is surprising therefore that Rilliet[d] should hesitate between it and Rome, after Hoelemann's[e] refutation.[f]

It now remains to shew, that the letter was composed after those to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, when the time of this imprisonment was verging towards its close. In i. 12, 13, 14, and ii. 26, a considerable period is supposed to have elapsed, so that the good fruit of Paul's ministry had become apparent: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear."—"For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick." This last passage shews that some time must have elapsed from Epaphroditus's arrival. The apostle too was almost alone. His friends had all gone away from him, or some of them had been sent by himself to other places, except Timothy. Even Luke *seems* to have been absent (i. 1, ii. 20, 21, iv. 22 compared with Col. iv. 14). Nothing certain however can be inferred from Luke's name not being specified, even though he had been on intimate terms with the Philippians before.

In connexion with the preceding notices, we direct attention to what the writer says in ii. 24: "But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly;" and i. 25, 26: "And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith; that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again." Yet the apostle was not without doubts as to the issue. He was not absolutely certain of a favourable and speedy termination to his captivity. Hence he writes: "According to my earnest expectation and hope that in nothing I shall be

[c] Beiträge zur Historisch-kritischen Einleit. in die Paulinischen Briefe, zweite Abtheilung, p. 47, et seq.

[d] In his Commentaire. [e] Commentar, p. 3, et seq.

[f] See Matthies, Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Phil. Einleit, § 2, pp. 4-12.

ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all. Him therefore I hope to send presently, as soon as I shall see how it will go with me" (i. 20; ii. 17, 23). Michaelis[g] supposes, that the strong expression πεποιθὼς οἶδα (i. 25) implies that Paul was actually assured by a communication from heaven that he should be released. But the uncertain way he speaks in elsewhere, suggests another view, viz. that he gave utterance in these terms to the promptings of his own mind. He had just arrived at the conclusion that it was more conducive to the spiritual welfare of the Philippian believers that he should be spared a little longer; and therefore he draws the conclusion presented in the twenty-fifth verse. By separating the participle πεποιθὼς from οἶδα, as our English translators have done, the expression of assurance regarding his deliverance will be materially lessened, because the confidence will then relate to his firm persuasion that the interests of the Philippians should be promoted by the continuance of his life on earth. But even if τοῦτο be governed by οἶδα, and referred to the succeeding words, the sense of the clause should not be *pressed*. It should be understood in its *popular*, not in its *rigidly exact* acceptation. The apostle gives utterance to his trust in God respecting his release and future activity, although he had no direct revelation in the matter. Hence he speaks again with hesitation. From a consideration of all circumstances, the epistle may be placed with probability in the year 62.

III. *The person by whom it was sent.*

During his imprisonment at Rome, the apostle received an account of the Philippian church from Epaphroditus, one of the pastors perhaps, who had been sent to him with a pecuniary contribution. This was not the first occasion on which the same church had expressed its gratitude in similar deeds of benevolence. Twice the members had sent presents to him at Thessa-

[g] Introduction to the N. T. translated by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 160.

lonica (Philipp. iv. 15, 16). At Corinth he had also partaken of their bounty (2 Cor. xi. 9). Though he declined to accept eleemosynary aid from others, he received it at *their* hands; a fact which must have been highly gratifying to them.

The messenger in question was seized with a dangerous illness, whose cause cannot now be ascertained. It may have arisen from excessive haste in his journey, and the fatigue attendant on it; or from his great exertions at Rome in diffusing the truth and ministering to the apostle. In the thirtieth verse of the second chapter we read, "Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life to supply your lack of service." Here *the work of Christ* may include the services rendered to Paul, and also other labours undertaken for the gospel's sake which had no immediate reference to the apostle's person. The conclusion of the verse however favours the former especially. Epaphroditus, it would seem, contracted a dangerous disease from excessive anxiety to perform in his own person all the kind offices which the members of the whole church, had they been present, would have rendered their beloved instructor, and which they desired their delegate to execute as far as he was able. The news of this severe malady had reached the church at Philippi, and made Epaphroditus extremely desirous to return. Hence the apostle was the more solicitous to send him back as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, that the regrets of pastor and people might be removed, and joy restored at their meeting. But the apostle of the Gentiles did not dismiss him without an equivalent for the seasonable present of the Philippians. Their gift had been both timely and liberal, so that the recipient could say, "I have all and abound." It had more than supplied his present necessities. It had left him something for future emergencies. In return for so great kindness, he writes the present letter, full of ardent affection, and fraught with high encouragement, to the believers at Philippi. In consolatory terms it conveys the writer's concern for their welfare in all things pertaining to godliness. Thus they were nobly repaid. With what joy would they read the epistle coming from their spiritual parent. What an incentive would it prove to the higher exercise of every Christian virtue. How would they be stimulated by its exhortations to

press forward towards greater attainments, and to work out, with all holy circumspection, their own salvation. How would the apostle's own experience lead them to be followers of one so thoroughly imbued with the essential spirit of Christianity. The expressions applied to Epaphroditus evince the high position he occupied in Paul's esteem. *Such* commendation from *such* an apostle stamps on the man and the preacher a seal of faithfulness which an angel might envy: "My brother—fellow-worker—fellow-soldier."

But it may be asked, how the apostle could be in want, as he seems to have been, when thus relieved by the Philippians. Was he neglected by the Christians at Rome? Were there not many wealthy citizens who had embraced the gospel, and knew of his long imprisonment? It is sufficient to refer, in reply, to Paul's known practice—a practice dictated by extreme delicacy and dignity. He was accustomed to work with his own hands, rather than be a burden to any of the churches. This he could not do, now that he was a prisoner. The Romans had not been converted by him, and he would therefore regard himself as in no way entitled to maintenance from them. Besides, he had enemies in the city; and he never received remuneration for his labours in the churches where such had appeared, lest they should be furnished with the colour of an excuse for ascribing to him interested motives (2 Cor. xi. 9, Acts xx. 34). When these considerations are taken into account, it will not seem strange that his means of subsistence had been reduced to a low state. The Christians at Rome may have offered what he refused to take; for his own words are: "Now ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only" (iv. 15).

IV. *State of the church at the time Paul wrote to it.*

This church consisted of Gentile and Jewish christians, almost wholly of the former. The members generally seem not to have been in affluent circumstances. This may be inferred from 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2: "We do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia; how that, in a great trial of afflic-

tion, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality." Hence the present sent to the apostle exhibited no small amount of affection on their part. This Christian people contributed to the relief of his necessities out of their poverty. And Paul knew how to estimate the sacrifice. That they were not numerous also may be gathered from the extent of the place. If Philippi be the smallest city to which Paul addressed any of his letters, the Christians belonging to it could not be many. There is no evidence that the church was large and flourishing.

Many have supposed that the Christian society was divided into parties or factions, arising from the efforts of false teachers insisting on the necessity of keeping the ceremonial law, especially of practising circumcision. Although the community had remained on the whole steadfast to the truth, it was not free from divisions. Judaising christians had insinuated themselves into it, giving rise to disunion, and awakening the apostle's solicitude. According to Eichhorn, Rheinwald, and others, there were two parties in the church, a Jewish christian and a Gentile christian. Bertholdt supposes that teachers of a Sadducean tendency had appeared among the Philippians. Michaelis conjectures, that Euodia and Syntyche, who were at variance, had occasioned a schism among the other members. The passages supposed to imply the existence of parties are the following: iii. 1-8, 18, 19. The admonitions contained in ii. 2, iv. 2, *τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε*; ii. 2, *τὸ ἓν φρονεῖν*; i. 27, *μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλεῖν*; ii. 2, *σύμψυχος*; with ii. 3, 4, 12, 14; iv. 5; iii. 2, etc., are regarded as intimating the same condition. Such a foundation however is insufficient to support the hypothesis built on it. These passages do not imply the existence of parties in the Christian community. That there were *Jews* at Philippi is clear from the sixteenth chapter of the Acts; for though they had no synagogue, they had a *proseucha*. That there were also Judaising teachers may be assumed; but that the latter had made any impression on the members of the church, or that they had undermined the authority and doctrines of the apostle in the church's esteem, is a position that cannot be supported. Because the Philippians were enjoined to beware of dogs, *i. e.* false

teachers of a Judaising tendency, it does not follow that they had been already seduced by them, nor even that they had turned a favourable ear to their insinuations. Probably these evil men had made attempts on some of the brethren; but the latter were too firmly established in the faith to surrender themselves an easy prey to the corrupters of truth. Paul knew that they were in danger. He had often warned them, "To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe" (iii. 1). Yet he does not state, either plainly, or by implication, that the Philippians had so far forgotten the essential principles of Christianity as to submit to the legal observances of the ancient economy, or to range themselves into factions distinguished by opposite sentiments. He writes indeed: "For many walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ;" but this language does not indicate teachers of the gospel who had insinuated themselves into the Philippian church. Men whose lives were so immoral—whose minds were so intent on earthly pursuits—could scarcely have been mistaken by the spiritually minded believers, though their real character may have been concealed, and their true motives carefully covered.

While we believe, therefore, that there were Jews at Philippi who made a profession of Christianity to promote their selfish ends, expecting to make a gain of godliness, and turning away the simple from the faith, there is no good reason for concluding that Judaising teachers had gained a decided advantage over any, or that they stood in intimate connexion with the church. Nothing more can be assumed with propriety than that they had attempted to instil their doctrines into the minds of the members, in order that the Gentile christians might submit to circumcision. Philippi was the habitation of these errorists; but their doctrines had not yet found a welcome response in the bosom of the church. The propriety of the exhortations to which allusion has been made will be apparent, if it be remembered not only that similar admonitions are applicable to the purest church, but that the Philippians were then exposed to the temptations which would naturally produce dissension. The great object of the Judaisers was to mar the peace, by destroying

the purity of the church. The tendency of their doctrine was *divisive.* Hence we find that wherever they had been successful in insinuating their peculiar tenets into the minds of various members, dissatisfaction arose in others; and parties formed themselves around different teachers. It was therefore highly pertinent to admonish the Philippians to be of one mind—to be of the same sentiments in religion—to strive together in one harmonious body united by a similarity of feeling—to be perfectly unanimous, and to aim at an increase of mutual love. As long as they were thus united in heart and soul for the gospel's sake, they were secure against the influence of those temptations. A reception of the pernicious doctrines taught by the errorists would produce mutual disaffection and estrangement, while differences of sentiment, and want of unanimity would tend to make them an easy prey to the enemies who endeavoured to seduce them.

In connexion with this topic, it is necessary to allude to *the sufferings* to which the Christians of Philippi were exposed: "In nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake; having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me" (i. 28-30). It cannot be denied, that these words imply persecution, in some form or other. Credner[h] refers the thirtieth verse merely to the statement Paul makes regarding his own inward struggle (verse 23, etc.), and is inclined to disbelieve the fact of the Philippians being exposed to persecutions. But the thirtieth verse is so closely connected with the preceding context that it cannot be referred, at least exclusively, to the inward struggle in the writer's bosom. The whole passage shews that Christians at Philippi were surrounded by formidable foes by whom the apostle exhorts them not to be terrified. They were called to suffer for Christ. It is not likely that these adversaries were the Judaising teachers elsewhere characterised as the enemies of the cross of Christ. The subsequent context, especially i. 30, is

[h] Einleitung, p. 420.

unfavourable to this exegesis of Flatt's. But by the ἀντικείμενοι or *opponents*, are meant all the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles with whom the converts at Philippi came into contact—the Jews and heathens who resisted the gospel.[1] The Philippians had endured the same conflict which Paul had formerly sustained for having expelled the demon from the divining damsel, when he was scourged and put in prison. They underwent afflictions similar to those which, as they heard in the present letter and from various individuals, Paul then endured from the combined opposition of Jews, Judaising teachers, and heathen magistrates. In what particular ways these causes operated to disturb and vex them we need not stop to inquire. The malignancy of Satan worked in various channels and with different instruments. It is no rash assumption to say that *he* instigated these classes to do their utmost against the religion of Christ and its adherents. Heathen power and Jewish influence, in connexion with the selfishness of the human heart, were directed against Christianity and its votaries. But the Philippians evinced fortitude and endurance in resisting the yoke of the Mosaic law which their adversaries endeavoured to impose upon them, as also in refusing to have any connexion with the heathen worship. They were not terrified by threats, or by the number and power of their adversaries; but steadfastly adhered to the apostolic doctrine, so that their firm resistance might serve as a prelude and a demonstration of the destruction of their foes, while it was an evidence of their own salvation.

It will be seen from the preceding remarks, that we do not admit the existence of divisions in the church at Philippi arising from the efforts of false teachers, though Eichhorn, Storr, Flatt, Rheinwald and others entertain such a view. The existence indeed of such parties is generally rejected since the appearance of Schinz's able tractate against it; for he has unquestionably refuted the older hypothesis, though *all* his arguments against it are not cogent or convincing. Neither is there satisfactory evidence in the epistle that doctrinal errors had obtained currency among the believers. On the contrary, the members of

[1] See Schinz's die Christliche Gemeinde zu Philippi, Ein Exegetischer Versuch, 1833, pp. 35, 36.

the church stood firm against the assaults of persecution, and the temptations arising from doctrinal corruption. The apostle does not censure them for having apostatised from the purity of the gospel; nor does he accuse them of vicious conduct. The letter contains commendations and encouragements, not reprehensions or reproofs. It presents exhortations to perseverance in the course on which they had entered, and various cautions as well against dangerous teachers as against particular states of mind. The opinion entertained of his readers by the apostle is concentrated in one verse: "Therefore, my brethren, dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved" (iv. 1).

It has been conjectured by Credner, De Wette, and others, that spiritual pride was an ingredient in the Philippian character. In proof of this assumption reference has been made to chapters i. 12—ii. 16; iii. 15, 16; iv. 2. But it is difficult to perceive how the latter part of the first chapter is appropriate, since it relates to Paul himself, and the conduct of two classes of preachers at Rome. The only legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the passages just quoted is, that there was *a tendency* in the Philippian character to vainglory and high-mindedness. They were in greater danger of falling into this frame of mind than any other. Their besetting sins were just the qualities mentioned. Hence the apostle cautions them regarding such propensities. It is easy to see how a high degree of spiritual advancement may co-exist with a near approach to mental states incompatible with true Christianity. The very condition in which the believers at Philippi were when the apostle addressed them—a condition of great promise and progress—would be more likely to beget pride within them, based on remaining corruption, than a low and languishing piety. Such is the weakness of humanity that the highest spirituality stands near the verge of pride, supercilious-ness, and vainglory. It has been thought by Credner, that the natural character of the Philippians was strongly tinctured with vanity and self-conceit as manifested in their claiming from the Romans for their city the empty title πρώτη πόλις. The same qualities, as he supposes, re-appeared within the church in the form of spiritual pride. There may be possibly some truth in

this conjecture, though we cannot arrive at any definite knowledge on the point. One thing is certain, that such high-mindedness would prevent the full development of Christian unity, and prepare the way for the entrance of Jewish corruptions. Yet the actual existence of spiritual pride, vainglory, and strife in the bosom of the Philippian society cannot be proved. We can only affirm that the believers appeared to the apostle to need special warning against such unseemly phases of character.

V. *Occasion and object.*

These may be easily inferred from the remarks already made. The return of Epaphroditus, who had been sent to the apostle with a present from Philippi, gave rise to the letter. It was meet in the Philippians to make a grateful acknowledgment of their Christian sympathy and kindness, even if he had entertained no special love towards them. But he had no less affection for them than they had for him. Hence he writes not merely a letter of thanks, but of congratulation, encouragement, and sympathy.

The object of the epistle is obviously to confirm the Philippians in the faith of the gospel, and to encourage them in the Christian course. The writer's affection for them is conspicuous throughout. Every part breathes forth the accents of tenderness and pathos towards them. The writer speaks as one on terms of intimate familiarity with them. He enters into the circumstances of his own condition at Rome, his hopes, his desires, his anxieties, and expresses fervent wishes for their spiritual welfare.[k]

VI. *Some peculiarities in the exordium and conclusion of the epistle.*

It is contrary to Paul's usual method to specify bishops and deacons in the general salutation. The reason why he mentions them in this letter is not obvious. Chrysostom, Theophylact, Flatt, and Hoelemann suppose, that the bishops and deacons are thus singled out because *they* had exhibited their great zeal towards the apostle in sending Epaphroditus with the contribution. The Philippians alone had thus ministered to Paul's

[k] See Mynster's Kleine Theologische Schriften, p. 174.

necessities. The supposition has been generally adopted as probable, though other conjectures have been advanced by others.[1] It will be observed, that the members are first mentioned: "To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." This precedence is contrary to modern ideas, and would doubtless be censured as unseemly were it not stamped with infallible authority. The majority of the clergy in these days suppose that the people are an appendage to them. This idea is more liable to rest in the minds of such as have been elevated to prelatic dignity. Yet *an apostle* mentions *all the saints* first; the bishops and deacons come after. Here there is nothing to feed the vanity natural to the human mind. And yet some catholic commentators turn it in favour of the clergy. *The ruling* shepherd follows the herd that *is ruled!* So Cornelius a Lapide and Thomas Aquinas. But how does the plural number *bishops* contradict the Romanist idea of episcopacy?

It will be observed also, that allusion is made to *several* bishops. Presbyters or elders are not mentioned. Hence it has been rightly inferred that presbyter and bishop were synonymous terms in the apostolic age. The same conclusion is demonstrable from other passages. There was no distinction then between elder and bishop. They were different appellations belonging to the same spiritual officers. But how is the mention of two or more bishops accounted for, since modern usage and ideas lead us to expect no more than one? Are we to say with Michaelis that the Christians had no public edifices or temples which contained, as in later ages, assemblies of several thousands, but were obliged to hold their meetings in private houses, over each of which an inspector or bishop presided? This explanation is insufficient, because it is utterly improbable that the Christians in Philippi were so numerous as to be under the necessity of distributing themselves into little bands or companies. It is an idle conjecture to assume, that there was no edifice to which they had access capable of affording accommodation to all the members of the church. If in Ephesus there was but one congregation, much more might we expect but one at Philippi. To every impartial

[1] See Meyer, pp. 9, 10.

reader of the epistle it will always appear, that there was no more than *one congregation* meeting for worship in one place. There were *several* bishops in the church. Nor was a plurality of pastors peculiar to the Philippian society. Ephesus too had its elders (Acts xx.); and in Ephesus there was a single church. Jerusalem had its bishops; and in it there was one church or assembly of Christians. Whether *all* the apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors, though that feature be not *expressly* attributed to them in the New Testament, is a topic which cannot be discussed in this place. The settlement of it involves an answer to the question, Were the primitive churches similarly organised? Did the apostles, acting under infallible direction, and the evangelists whom they sanctioned, give the same constitution to all? Different inquirers will give different replies to the question.

The exordium contains no mention of Paul's apostolic office, as is usual in his other letters. He associates Timothy with himself because the latter had been with him when he founded the church at Philippi and when he visited it subsequently, both being styled *bondmen* (δοῦλοι) of Jesus. His laying aside the apostolic designation may be explained in part by a motive of delicacy. He wished to avoid the use of a title which would naturally suggest a claim on his part to the benefit he had received. In addition to this it should be remembered, that he had no reason for asserting his apostolic authority. There were no factions in the church to which he was writing. The believers had not apostatised from the faith, nor given heed to seducing teachers who impugned his apostleship. On the contrary, the church had stood firm in maintaining his doctrine and loving his person. The apostle cared not for associating with his name a title which had justly belonged to him, as long as there was no sufficient cause for assuming it.[m] Such were his humility and delicate sense of propriety, that he waived the higher, for the sake of the lower appellation. He took no pride in names and titles.

Lardner has observed[n] of the salutations at the conclusion of

[m] See Schinz, pp. 16, 17.

[n] Works, vol. iii. 4to ed. p. 322.

the epistle, that they are singular because different from those of the other epistles written about the same time. It is said first: "The brethren which are with me greet you" (iv. 21). Secondly: "All the saints salute you" (22). *The brethren* should not be explained of Mark, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Demas, and Luke, who had joined the apostle at Rome, and endeavoured to promote the interests of Christianity under his direction; nor of Euodia, Syntyche, and Epaphroditus, as Van Hengel imagines. Such Christians simply as were within the immediate circle of the writer's acquaintances at Rome are intended, among whom may probably be *included* the names of Timothy and other fellow-labourers in the gospel.[o] The salutations sent by *all the saints* was prompted not merely by the love subsisting between all the brethren however remote, but by a consideration of the kind present which they had sent the apostle, exhibiting attachment to his person and the cause of the gospel. Such a token of their regard for Paul must have tended to endear the donors to the Christians at Rome. The individuals belonging to *Caesar's household* are particularly mentioned as sending salutations. Perhaps Caesar's freedmen and domestics are meant—those whom Dio[p] calls *Καισαρεῖοι*, *Caesariani*—persons serving in the palace. Whether his *relatives* or family are intended—the expression *οἰκία Καίσαρος* being taken *tropically*—is very doubtful. There is no proof that Poppaea, the emperor's wife, was a Christian; though Macknight, in order to shew that she regarded the apostle with favour, quotes the epithet applied to her by Josephus, *θεοσεβής*, *devout*. Neither is there any ground for supposing that Seneca was of this number, for he did not belong to Caesar's household, neither was he at any time a Christian, as far as can be ascertained from his history. He was a senator in the city. Lucan the poet also cannot be reckoned among the number. Whether the converts were chiefly composed of such as had been Jewish slaves, or of natives of Rome, cannot be known. The former is the more probable from the fact that Josephus was introduced to Poppaea by a Jewish comedian named Alityrus.

[o] De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch on the verse; and Meyer's Commentar. pp. 142, 143.

[p] 52, 24, 76, 21, 78, 10.

Doubtless it would rejoice the Philippians to hear that Christianity found its way into the palace of Caesar—a place full of abomination and wickedness. So rare an instance of the power of truth would fill their minds at once with surprise and consolation. And that these domestics especially saluted the Philippians seemed to augur well for the release of him by whom they had been converted, and for the cause of the gospel at Rome.

VII. *Genuineness and authenticity.*

Testimonies in favour of these are found in Polycarp, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and the epistle to the churches of Vienne and Lyons.

Polycarp writes: *Οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου· ὅς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, κ. τ. λ.*[q]

"For neither I, nor any one like me, can reach the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, who when absent wrote to you letters; into which if ye look, you will be able to edify yourselves in the faith which has been given you."

And again: "Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis [laudati] in principio epistolae ejus. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae Deum solae tunc cognoverant."[r]

"But I have neither perceived nor heard any such thing to be in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who are in the beginning of his epistle; for he glories in you in all the churches which then alone knew God."

Irenaeus says: "Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippensibus ait: 'Repletus sum acceptis ab Epaphrodito quae a vobis missa sunt, odorem suavitatis, hostiam acceptabilem, placentem Deo.'"[s]

"As Paul also says to the Philippians: 'I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.'"

[q] Ep. ad Philipp. cap. iii. p. 118, ed. Hefele, 1842.

[r] Ibid. cap. xi. p. 122.

[s] Advers. Haeres. lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. p. 326, ed. Grabe.

In Clement of Alexandria we find the following: *Αὐτοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος τοῦ Παύλου περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· Οὐκ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον, κ. τ. λ.*[t]

"When Paul confesses of himself, 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect,'" etc. etc.

Tertullian writes: "Ad quam (justitiam) pendens et ipse, quum Philippensibus scribit, si quâ, inquit, concurram in resurrectionem quae est a mortuis; non quia jam accepi, aut consummatus sum."[u]

"Of which (hope) being in suspense himself, when he writes to the Philippians, If by any means, says he, I might attain to the resurrection of the dead; not as though I had already attained or were perfected."

In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, as given by Eusebius, the following quotation of Phil. ii. 6 occurs: *Οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐκ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ.*[x]

"Who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ: 'Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.'"

The internal character of the epistle abundantly attests its Pauline origin. Yet it has not escaped suspicion. With all its unmistakeable qualities of genuineness, which are too apparent to need enumeration, doubts have been thrown out against it in recent times. Schrader[y] took exception to the authenticity of that part contained in chapters iii. 1—iv. 9. He was refuted by Hölemann.[z] Baur,[a] with his usual hypercriticism, appeared against the entire epistle. His baseless statements have been amply rebutted by Lünemann.[b] It can never be proved that the epistle moves in the circle of *Gnostic* ideas and expressions. We do not intend however to occupy space with such absurdities as

[t] Paedag. lib. i. p. 107, D. See also Stromata, lib. iv. p. 511, A; Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 56, B., ed. Colon. 1688.

[u] De Resur. Carnis, cap. xxiii.

[x] Euseb. H. E. lib. v. cap. ii.

[y] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. v. p. 231, et seq.

[z] Commentarius in epistolam, etc. Prolegomena, p. 59, et seq.

[a] Paulus der Apostel, u. s. w. p. 458, et seq.

[b] Pauli ad Philipp. epistola defendit, 1847.

those of Baur and Schwegler, which deserve no refutation. If any one of the Pauline epistles be authentic, that to the Philippians is unquestionably so.

VIII. *Unity.*

Heinrichs advocated the opinion, that the epistle is composed of two letters different in argument and object; the one addressed to the whole church at Philippi, the other intended for the apostle's intimate friends alone. The former is supposed to contain the first two chapters as far as ἐν Κυρίῳ in the first verse of the third, with iv. 21-23 inclusive; the latter, from the first verse of the third chapter beginning with τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν to the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter. The two letters received their present position and form when the New Testament epistles were collected. The words τὸ λοιπὸν, χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ certainly appear to indicate the speedy termination of the epistle, as the analogy of 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Ephes. vi. 10, 2 Thess. iii. 1 shews. Not that the verb χαίρετε is necessarily valedictory, or equivalent to the Latin *valete;* but that the adverbial expression τὸ λοιπὸν indicates a summing up in brief space of all that the writer intends to add. In 1 Thess. iv. 1 the same formula stands at a considerable distance from the end of the epistle, intimating that it is placed at the close of an important topic, *at whatever place* of the epistle the discussion of such topic is concluded. Perhaps the apostle intended originally to close with iii. 1; but when Epaphroditus did not set out immediately, or on receiving additional information respecting the Judaisers, he was moved by the Holy Ghost to append a warning against them.

The hypothesis ingeniously advocated by Heinrichs was approved in the main by a reviewer in the "Jena Literatur-Zeitung" for 1805. It was afterwards adopted, with slight variations, by Paulus. But it has never met with general approval. Resting as it does on no foundation, and supported by arguments more specious than solid, it must be abandoned to that universal neglect into which it has already fallen. It has been refuted by Bertholdt, Flatt, Schott, Krause, Rheinwald and others, especially by Krause.[c] It is therefore unnecessary to enter on the

[c] Opuscula, pp. 3-22.

present occasion upon a formal demolition of it, because it has found so little favour even among the speculating countrymen of the original proposer.

It has been debated, whether the apostle wrote more epistles than one to the Philippians; but the fact cannot be ascertained with certainty. Although they had sent him several presents, it does not follow that he had made *written* acknowledgments of them, as Michaelis imagines. *Three* passages seem to favour the opinion that he had sent more than one letter. In chapter iii. 18 it is written, "For many walk of whom *I have told you often*," etc. In iii. 1 we find also the following words: "*To write the same things to you*, to me indeed is not grievous," etc. Again; Polycarp mentions *letters* to the Philippians, as having been written to them by Paul. Yet it cannot be denied that these considerations afford no more than a slight presumption; because they are capable of another explanation. Thus ἔλεγον (iii. 18) may be restricted to his former discourses when he was present, as De Wette is inclined to believe. The allusion cannot be to something written in *the present* epistle, either to iii. 2, as Matthies supposes; or to i. 15, ii. 21, as Hölemann thinks; or to χαίρετε, as Schinz conjectures. The choice lies between *a former* epistle and oral communications. *To write the same things to you* (iii. 1), is a phrase which may mean, *the same things which I previously inculcated by word of mouth*, as Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Balduin, Estius, Calovius, Wolf, Rosenmüller, Rheinwald, Schrader, and others think. It cannot mean, *to write the same things to you which I have written to other churches*, as Macknight thinks. Nor is it at all natural to paraphrase, as Wieseler[d] does, "to write the same things to you which you will learn by word of mouth from Epaphroditus, and especially Timothy, my messengers, etc. etc." The testimony of Polycarp, however, has been adduced to strengthen the interpretation of this passage which implies the writing of a former epistle. In the third chapter of his letter to the Philippians, that father says, that Paul had written *epistles* (ἐπιστολάς) to them. But to this it is replied that the plural may be used for the singular, as Cotelerius has shewn; and in the

[d] Chronologie, p. 459.

eleventh chapter, the singular number, "qui estis in principio *epistolae ejus*," is said to neutralise the plural of the third chapter. But the singular number may well refer to *the most prominent* of the epistles, *i. e.* the present canonical one. We are aware that Meyer takes *epistolae* as the nominative plural, contrary to other expositors, but it is much more likely to be the genitive singular; *laudati*, as Smith conjectured, requiring to be added.[e] Lardner, after Salmeron, thinks that the plural ἐπιστολαί means not only the epistle to the Philippians, but also both epistles to the Thessalonians, because the words, "He glories in you in all the churches which then alone knew God," are taken from 2 Thessal. i. 4. This is doubtful. The quotation is not very clear. On the whole, it cannot be proved that the apostle had written to the Philippians previously to his sending them the present canonical letter. But in our view there is a *presumption* in favour of his having done so. Meyer, in his exegetical observations on the first verse of the third chapter, has made it probable.

IX. *Contents.*

The epistle is the shortest addressed to any church, except the Second to the Thessalonians. It may be divided into six paragraphs or parts. The doctrinal and the moral are not treated separately, as in other letters written by Paul. They are more or less blended throughout. The first part is historical, relating to the writer's condition at Rome. The epistle does not exhibit the same regularity of structure or sequence of argument as characterise the writings of the apostle generally. There are sudden digressions and breaks in the logical succession of ideas, especially towards the end. The intimacy subsisting between himself and his readers, no less than the kind-heartedness of the latter, rendered an artificial plan unnecessary. Its predominant character being the pathetic and affectionate, *the heart* of the apostle is exhibited with singular tenderness and beauty of expression. His reasoning powers were not required for the confutation of error among the Philippians; and there is therefore less of the

[e] See Wieseler, pp. 460, 461.

formal and consecutive in the composition. Its general tone is practical. The deep earnestness and gratitude of the writer are unfolded in terms pervaded by uncommon delicacy and affection. A generous tide of noble feeling is poured into the epistle, from a soul overflowing with the purest sentiments of which humanity is capable.

The six paragraphs are these: (*a*) i. 1 - 11; (*b*) i. 12—ii. 18; (*c*) ii. 19 - 30; (*d*) iii. 1—iv. 1; (*e*) iv. 2 - 9; (*f*) iv. 10 - 23.

(*a*) i. 1 - 11. After the inscription and salutation, Paul expresses his gratitude to God on behalf of the Philippians, his continual mention of them in prayer since the time they received the gospel, and his confident expectation that the work of sanctification in their hearts would be carried on till the day of death, and perfectly completed. He calls God to witness his deep-seated affection towards them, praying that their love and knowledge might be still more abundant, and the fruits of their righteousness yet more productive.

(*b*) i. 12—ii. 18. That the believers at Philippi might not be dejected on account of what had befallen him, he informs them that God had overruled his imprisonment for good, by rendering it subservient to the advancement of the gospel. His bonds had been made known in the prætorium and throughout the city; and by witnessing his patient fortitude, several of the brethren had been induced to preach the gospel all the more fearlessly. Not that the motives of all who proclaimed Christ crucified were pure—for some envied the apostle's popularity—but yet, as long as Christ was preached, Paul rejoiced. He expresses his confidence in the fact, that the Redeemer should be magnified, either by his life or his death; though he thinks it on the whole more desirable, for the sake of the Philippians and others, that he should live a little longer, that he might joyfully meet them again. But whatever might be the issue of his present captivity, he exhorts them to lead a holy life, to be firmly united in one spirit, and not to be terrified by their enemies. In the most tender and pathetic strains, he beseeches them to cultivate mutual love, to avoid vain glory, and to be exceedingly humble in the estimate of their own attainments. To enforce the duty of humility the more impressively, he introduces the

example of Christ, who left the glories of the heavenly state to live on earth a life of lowly obedience and suffering, for the sake of men. Having described the Saviour's person, both in his humiliation and exaltation, he exhorts them to work out their salvation with reverential fear, remembering that the divine energy was not inactive within them; to avoid murmurings under their sufferings, and disputings for pre-eminence; to be blameless and harmless in the midst of an evil generation; and not only to hold fast, but also to diffuse the word of life around, that the apostle might rejoice in the day of Christ on their account.

(*c*) ii. 19 - 30. He promises to send Timothy to them, of whom he speaks as a disinterested, zealous, affectionate minister, and one whose excellence was well known to them. But still he was in expectation of being shortly released, and of following Timothy to Philippi. He then gives a reason for sending Epaphroditus to them in the mean time. He mentions the dangerous sickness of their messenger, his earnest longing to return to his flock, and the self-sacrificing fidelity with which he had laboured. Him he commends to their esteem and honour, as a workman worthy of their highest regards.

(*d*) iii. 1—iv. 1. Having understood from Epaphroditus that there were Judaising teachers at Philippi, the apostle in this paragraph warns the believers against them, affirming that *they* are the true people of God who place no confidence in conformity to the law of Moses. Had this law furnished ground for glorying, *he* might certainly boast of it; for he was descended of Jewish parents, circumcised, a rigid Pharisee, observing all its outward requirements. But he was willing to forego all these pretensions for Christ, while he sought justification by faith in His righteousness alone. Hence his great object was to *know* the Saviour, to become experimentally acquainted with Him in the efficacy of His resurrection, producing a spiritual resurrection in man and preparing him for a glorious immortality; to endure like sufferings with the Redeemer for His sake; and being united to Him, to attain to the certainty of a blessed resurrection. He proceeds to describe his Christian experience as progressive. He always aimed at higher attainments in the Christian life: hence

he exhorts them to follow his example, by walking after the rule they had already followed. In contrast with his own aims and conduct he places the practices of the Judaisers, whom he describes as enemies of the true doctrine, sensual, unclean, worldly-minded, selfish. How unlike this to the apostle of the Gentiles, whose citizenship was in heaven, and who was always looking for the Saviour to raise him to a blessed immortality. The Philippians, therefore, as having the same faith and prospect, are exhorted to stand fast in the Lord.

(*e*) iv. 2-9. Paul beseeches Euodia and Syntyche, two females —deaconesses perhaps—to be reconciled; entreats his true "yoke-fellow" to assist several pious women in their evangelical labours, who had maintained the truth of the gospel along with himself and Clement. After this he subjoins a few general precepts relative to spiritual joy, moderation, and contentment. Virtue is recommended in all the different forms in which the wisdom of ancient philosophers had presented it; and as the Philippians had seen it so embodied in himself, they are enjoined to practise it in its widest aspect.

(*f*) iv. 10-23. He thanks the Philippians for the signal proof of their kindness towards him, but intimates, with a delicacy and nobleness of soul never surpassed, that he had learned to be contented in whatever circumstances he might be placed; prepared to suffer want if needful, or to have an abundance of the conveniences of life, with equanimity of temper trained in the school of Christ. The Saviour's strength enabled Paul to do and to suffer all His will concerning him. After stating that he was more pleased with their gift as an evidence of their Christianity, than as a supply of his own wants, he encourages them to expect an abundant fulfilment of all their desires from God the Father, to whom he ascribes all the glory. The epistle closes with salutations and the usual benediction.

EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

In examining such questions as are suggested by the epistle we shall pursue the following order and present:—

I. A few Historical Notices of Colosse and its Church.
II. The Occasion and Object of writing to the Colossian Believers.
III. Who planted the Church?
IV. Who were the Parties at Colosse whom the Apostle condemns as Corrupters of the Faith.
V. The Connexion between the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians.
VI. The Time and Place at which the Letter was written.
VII. Authenticity and Genuineness of the Epistle.
VIII. Contents.

I. *A few historical notices of Colosse and its church.*

Colosse, a city of Phrygia Pacatiana, was situated on the river Lycus. It was not far distant from Laodicea and Hierapolis. The name is written two ways *Κολοσσαί* and *Κολασσαί*, *Colossæ* and *Colasse*, between which the ancient authorities are almost equally divided. The best editors however incline to the latter, which has been adopted by Matthaei, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. Both appear in classical writers. It is probable that *Κολοσσαί* is the right and original appellation, and that *Κολασσαί* came to be the more common designation in the ordinary language of the people. Coins favour the former, not the latter. But Paul wrote *Colasse* as the usual name, which was changed into Colosse at a very early period.[a]

[a] See Meyer, Kommentar, pp. 9, 10; and Bertholdt's Einleit. vol. vi. p. 3441, et seq.

Colosse is called by Herodotus[b] πόλις μεγάλη, *a great city;* and by Xenophon[c] εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, *prosperous and large.* But its ancient greatness sank when Laodicea and Hierapolis rose into importance under the Seleucidae, and afterwards the Romans. Strabo[d] calls it πόλισμα, *a little town*, in contrast with Laodicea, which was extensive and populous. Ptolemy has taken no notice of it in his catalogue of cities. It is true that Pliny[e] reckons it one of the *celeberrima oppida Phrygiae;* but *oppidum* means no more than *a town;* and the reason why he styles it very celebrated is obscure. His authority is of little weight against that of Strabo.[f]

From these remarks it is apparent, that Colosse was not a large, wealthy, populous city in the time of Paul as some assert, inferring that the church there was large and flourishing. It was certainly so at one time; but not when the apostle wrote.

We shall see afterwards that Epaphras was the founder of the church at Colosse, or if not *the founder* properly so called, he was *virtually* such, for he was the earliest instructor of it as far as can be ascertained. But though the apostle himself never visited the place or taught Christianity to its inhabitants, he was acquainted with several members of the church there, as we see from the epistle to Philemon. Those too who were its teachers owed their knowledge of the truth to him. In this manner the believers at Colosse were not ignorant of Paul and his doctrine. They received his gospel from the lips of his friends and fellow-workers. They manifested their attachment to his person and cause. Nor was he indifferent to their welfare. He received intelligence of their condition from Epaphras and others, and exhibited his solicitude for their best interests by verbal messages as well as by the epistle still extant.

At what time precisely the church was founded cannot be discovered now. It must have been after the period specified in Acts xviii. 23. This may be inferred with certainty from a comparison of Col. ii. 1 with Acts xviii. 23. The society

[b] vii. 30. [c] Anab. i. 2, 6. [d] xii. 8. [e] H N. v. 41.

[f] See Boehmer's Isagoge in Epistolam a Paulo Apostolo ad Colossenses datam, etc. pp. 23-28.

consisted mainly of *Gentile* christians, as we learn from i. 25, 27; ii. 11, 13; iii. 5, 7.

II. *The occasion and object of writing to the Colossian believers.*

The intelligence brought to Rome by Epaphras respecting the affairs of the Christians at Colosse was the immediate occasion of the apostle's writing. Onesimus was returning with a letter to his master Philemon, and Tychicus was dispatched along with him, bearing the epistle to the Colossians as well as that to the Ephesians. Doubtless Onesimus had also made Paul acquainted with many particulars respecting the Colossian church; but the return of Epaphras, in connexion with the more recent information *he* had brought, led directly to the epistle before us.

The object of it may be clearly seen from the contents. Though the state of the believers had been satisfactory on the whole, though the apostle had reason for thanksgiving to God on their behalf, as he joyed and beheld their order, and the steadfastness of their faith (ii. 5), yet there was cause for solicitude. They were exposed to peculiar temptations. They were liable to be beguiled by the enticing words of false teachers. Some had been carried away and were about to make shipwreck of the true faith. Hence the apostle designed not merely to establish the Colossians in the Christian faith and life, but to warn them against the erroneous tenets of certain false teachers who corrupted the gospel. They were seriously threatened with the dangers of heretical sentiments originating with parties in Asia Minor; and Paul was anxious to keep their minds right in relation to the true evangelical doctrine.

III. *Who planted the church?*

It is matter of great difficulty to ascertain, whether Paul had visited Colosse and founded the church at that place before writing the present epistle. Some attribute the origin of it to Epaphras, or to one of Paul's immediate disciples, while others contend that it was planted by himself. The data on which any opinion respecting the point can be rested are not so definite or satisfactory as the inquirer could wish. We shall briefly allude to the arguments adduced on both sides of the question.

Dr. Lardner has stated fully all the considerations which may be drawn from the epistle itself, as well as that to Philemon, to support the view that the church was planted by Paul himself. No less than sixteen arguments are stated for this purpose. A reviewer of De Wette's Introduction in the "Hallische Literatur-Zeitung" for 1828 advocated the same sentiments; which were also adopted by Schulz in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1829; by Schott in his Introduction, and by Böttger. More recently Wiggers has endeavoured to support them by new arguments in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1838, with whom Koch agrees, in his late Commentary on Philemon. A good summary of the arguments employed by Schulz and Wiggers may be found in Neudecker,[g] who relies on them with greater confidence than judgment. In early times Theodoret had taken the same view. But the great majority of continental critics maintain the opposite opinion, such as Michaelis, Hug, De Wette, Boehmer, Steiger, Credner, Neander, Olshausen, Guerike, Meyer, and others.

The following arguments have been adduced by Lardner and others:—

1. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles that Paul travelled twice through Phrygia; and it is probable that in one or other journey he visited the principal cities, such as Colosse and Laodicea (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). Was it possible that he could go through the country without planting churches in cities and towns so important as these?

2. The epistle exhibits proofs of the intimacy and affection subsisting between the writer and the Colossian believers. Paul seems to have a correct knowledge of their state; is confident that they had been grounded and well instructed in the faith of the gospel; speaks of their love to him, and gives them such exhortations as imply a personal acquaintance, and induce the belief that he first taught them (comp. i. 6, 8, 23; ii. 5-7, 20-23; iv. 7-9; iv. 3, 4). The salutations also in iv. 10, 11, 14 suppose the Colossians to have been well acquainted with Paul's fellow-travellers and fellow-labourers; while those contained in the

[g] Lehrbuch der Einleit. § 84, pp. 514-517.

fifteenth and seventeenth verses of the same chapter prove that the apostle knew the state of the churches in Colosse and Laodicea.

3. Epaphras was sent to Rome by the Colossians to inquire of Paul's welfare (iv. 7, 8); a token of respect on their part which implies a personal acquaintance. "And it is allowed that Epaphras had brought to St. Paul a particular account of the state of affairs in this church, which is another argument that they were his converts."[h]

4. The Colossians were endowed with spiritual gifts (iii. 16), which they could not have received from any other than an apostle.

5. "St. Paul does in effect, or even expressly, say that himself had dispensed the gospel to these Colossians (i. 21-25). I shall recite here a large part of that context, verses 23-25: 'If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard . . . . . whereof I Paul am made a minister. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. Whereof I am made a minister according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil (fully to preach) the word of God.' And what follows to verse 29."[i]

6. It is written in chapter ii. 1, 2: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh; that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love," etc. Here the change of person implies that the Colossians, to whom he writes, *had seen his face*, else the writer would have said *your* not *their*.

7. The epistle to Philemon affords evidence that Paul had been among the Colossians. The nineteenth verse implies that Philemon had been converted to Christianity by the apostle, probably at the home of the former. He also salutes by name Apphia the wife of Philemon, and Archippus, probably pastor at

[h] Lardner's Works, 4to edition, vol. iii. p. 364.

[i] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 363.

Colosse; he desires Philemon to prepare him a lodging; Philemon is styled his fellow-labourer, and Archippus his fellow-soldier; all implying personal acquaintance and mutual co-operation in the gospel in one place, perhaps Colosse.[k]

8. Wiggers refers to chapter i. 7, where we find the words, "As ye have *also* learned of Epaphras," implying that Epaphras was not *the first* instructor of the Colossians, though they had been taught by him. The apostle preceded Epaphras in the work of teaching them.

9. According the same writer, the word ἄπειμι, *I am absent* (ii. 5), implies the previous presence of the writer.

10. Another argument employed by Wiggers and Neudecker is this: The apostle sends a salutation from Timothy to the Colossians (i. 1): whence it must be inferred that the evangelist was well known to them. But Timothy travelled with Paul through Phrygia (Acts xvi. 3), without leaving him, as far as we are aware. The apostle therefore must also have been known to the Colossians; which is tantamount to saying that he abode in their city, and taught them the truths of religion.

11. The expression, "Epaphras who is one of you" (iv. 12), would not have been applied to this teacher had he founded the church, for the same is said of Onesimus who had been recently converted (iv. 9). In speaking of Epaphras, the apostle never adds, "By whom ye believe," or, "By whom ye were brought to the fellowship of the gospel," even when recommending him to the esteem of the Colossians.

In reviewing these arguments, various considerations suggest themselves to the mind of the impartial inquirer. It is remarkable that the apostle does not allude once to the fact of his having founded the church himself. And yet this is stated on other occasions, especially when the members were in danger of being led away by Judaising teachers from the foundation he had laid; or when they had already apostatised. Thus in the epistle to the Galatians: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another

[k] See Lardner's History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Works, vol. iii. chapter xiv. p. 362, et seq.

gospel" (i. 6). It is no satisfactory reply to say, that the apostle thought it unnecessary to state a thing so well known. If in other cases he mentions the circumstance as one that ought to carry weight with it to the minds of those whom he had instructed in person; if in warning against the teachings and seductions of heretical disturbers, he exhorts his readers to abide by what they had received from his lips, and calls attention to the diversity between his doctrines and theirs, should we not expect a similar course towards the Colossians, whose faith was in imminent danger of being corrupted? And yet his personal intercourse with them is neither named nor hinted at. Let the reader compare the procedure of the same Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and a striking difference will appear (1 Cor. iii. 1-10). Even when commending Epaphras to their affectionate regard he does not say that *he* had preached the same gospel which they had already heard from his own mouth. He does not state that *he* had built on the foundation which he himself had laid among them; or that they should implicitly receive *his* teachings because such teachings exactly coincided with those which the apostle himself had propounded among them as the true foundation of their fellowship in the faith of the gospel. All this is singular, if it be thought that Paul himself planted the church. It is exactly in harmony with this peculiarity, that though various allusions are made to their having heard the gospel (i. 5, 23), it is never added that they had heard it from himself. Yet this would have been highly appropriate amid the concern expressed for their welfare and their leaning towards the heretics. The same force does not attach to Paul's mention of his hearing about their faith and other virtues, since Epaphras's report concerning them does not affect the point before us.

It must be admitted, that the apostle speaks of the Colossians in such a manner as to shew his anxiety for their state, his knowledge of their circumstances, his familiarity with their belief, and with the progress they had made in divine things; but of these he was apprised by Epaphras. When we recollect that Paul had the care of all the churches upon him—that he was properly the pastor of all—that he watched over them with

parental solicitude though he may not have planted them personally, the passages supposed to denote a personal acquaintance on his part with the Colossians, will cease to appear strange. In relation to the messengers sent in various directions to the churches —the exhortations dispatched through them to the various Christian associations, the affectionate counsels with which they were charged, the accounts in the New Testament are not defective. It may be well conceived that such things were frequent. In this manner he came to know the peculiar influences to which the converts were exposed from without, as well as the internal elements that pervaded and leavened them in their social fellowship. How natural was it therefore, that the Colossians should entertain a high veneration for the great apostle. If they had love to all the saints, as is said in the fourth verse of the first chapter, most of whom they had not seen in the flesh, should they not have felt a higher love for Paul? They owed their conversion to him, if not immediately, at least through the teaching of persons whom he had instructed and sent. They had heard of his abundant labours and self-denying zeal on behalf of the Gentiles, and they might look to him as their spiritual father in consequence of the relation which Epaphras and others sustained to himself and to them. Not to have written in this manner would have savoured of another person than the ardent and zealous apostle, whose heart was large enough to embrace within its capacious folds all the churches of the Saviour. For these Colossians not to have manifested their love to him, which they must have done chiefly through Epaphras, would have belied their profession and contradicted their Christianity. Thus while the entire tenor of the epistle shews that the apostle writes to converts, disciples, and friends, it is not necessary to assume that they were his *own immediate disciples and converts.* Those who imagine that they must have been such, measure the feelings of apostles and primitive Christians by a modern standard. The coldness and negligence now prevalent among professors of religion, especially those whom providence has placed at a little distance in worldly rank from one another, should not be transferred to the apostolic age. That were to go in opposition to the testimony of ecclesiastical history.

These general remarks will serve as an answer to the second and fifth arguments already given, especially the former.

1. That the apostle travelled twice through Phrygia does not prove that he visited Colosse and Laodicea. In his first journey he passed from Cilicia and Derbe to Lystra, thence through the north-eastern part of Phrygia to Galatia, Mysia, and Troas. Thus his route lay to the north of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse. In his second missionary journey he went from Lystra to Phrygia, thence northward to Galatia, and subsequently to Troas. This route was also to the north of those three cities. Whoever wishes to see both journeys through Phrygia minutely traced should consult Steiger.[1] Paul may indeed have turned aside from his direct way, and have traversed *all the country of* Galatia and Phrygia in order (Acts xviii. 23); but there is no word for *all* in the original; and if Phrygia possessed sixty-two towns, it is impossible that he could have published the gospel in all. Probably, however, there were not so many towns at that period as there were in the sixth century, according to the testimony of Hierocles. Theodoret thinks it strange that Paul should be in Phrygia and not visit the metropolis Hierapolis: but other cities may have been more important in the view of the apostle. Thus much for the first argument.

4. With respect to Col. iii. 16, neither it nor the parallel place (Ephes. v. 19, 20) implies the possession of miraculous gifts. Such an idea is not borne out by the obvious meaning of the verse, which "shews that the Colossians had the power, not of making, but only of singing, spiritual songs; and if this requires a supernatural endowment, every man who sings the Psalms of David must have a supernatural endowment. Besides, if the passage really implied what Lardner supposes, it would not prove that St. Paul had been at Colosse; for some individuals of the Colossian community might have seen St. Paul in other places, and have there received from him spiritual gifts.[m] Thus the fourth argument rests on an incorrect explanation.

6. The words, "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as

[1] Der Brief Pauli an die Kolosser, Einleitung, pp. 34 - 52.

[m] Michaelis, Introd. to the N. T. vol. iv. p. 119.

have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted," etc. (Col. ii. 1, 2), have been urged by parties holding opposite opinions respecting the founder of the Colossian church. The exposition given of them by Theodoret and Lardner has been already mentioned. According to it, two classes of persons are specified: first, the inhabitants of Colosse and Laodicea; secondly, those who had not seen the face of Paul. Hence the last clause intimates, by way of contrast, that the Colossians and Laodiceans had seen him personally, especially in connexion with the third person (*their* hearts, not *your*) immediately following. But the pronoun in the third person need create no difficulty. In consequence of ὅσοι, which precedes, the pronoun is put in *the third* instead of *the second* person, and the rather because *they of Laodicea* are alluded to in the same person. On the supposition that the last clause explains the two preceding, and points to the fact that the Colossians and Laodiceans had not seen his face, there is a significance and coherence in the clauses of the verse; but by the explanation of Theodoret and others that significance is destroyed. "I cannot persuade myself," says Neander, "that if the Colossians and Laodiceans had received the gospel from the lips of the apostle, he would have placed them so closely in connexion with those who were not personally known to him, without any distinction, as we find in Colossians ii. 1; since, in reference to the anxiety of the apostle for the churches, it always made an important difference whether he himself had founded them or not."[n] The last clause of the verse is added for the purpose of shewing that the apostle's anxiety was not confined to such as were personally known to him; but that those whom he had not planted and watered also shared his solicitude. The former lay nearer his heart; but the latter were not forgotten. Hence the phrase, "and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh," is subjoined to express the strength of his inward conflict in relation to such individuals as he had not seen—a conflict all the more intense in proportion to the power of distance in magnifying dangers real or imaginary. Wiggers prefers the rendering "*also* for those (of the Christians in Lao-

[n] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche, vol. i. p. 292, note.

dicea and Colosse) who have not personally known me;" but Neander justly observes, that this is not natural; for had the writer intended to express such an idea, he would scarcely have failed to limit ὅσοι by adding ὑμῶν.

Thus the passage ii. 1, 2, so far from constituting an argument in favour of the idea that Paul himself founded the church at Colosse, has an opposite bearing. It is rightly used on the other side.

7. The epistle to Philemon does not afford sufficient evidence that Paul had been personally present among the Colossians. Philemon had been converted by him, *not* at Colosse, but rather at *Ephesus*. The salutation by name of Archippus and his wife Apphia does not argue previous acquaintance; though it is not unlikely that some of the Colossians may have heard Paul preach at Ephesus, and have been converted by his ministry. Epaphras however had given him an account of these labourers in the common vineyard.

8. The conjunction καί (also) at the commencement of the seventh verse of the first chapter does not necessarily presuppose a previous instructor to Epaphras, as Wiggers[o] thinks. It refers to the preceding statement, especially to ἐπέγνωτε in the sixth verse. Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Scholz omit it as spurious, to which decision Meyer assents. Neander is inclined to adopt the same view.

9. The word ἄπειμι, in ii. 5, to which Wiggers[p] also appeals, does not imply that Paul had once been present, but is used in contrast with his *presence with them in the spirit:* "though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit."

10. This argument is invalid. Granting that Timothy did not separate from Paul during either of the apostle's Phrygian journeys, he might be appropriately joined with the apostle in the salutation. He might be well known to the Colossians by report. But among the various disciples of the apostle who were at Colosse, it is not improbable that Timothy had a part in instructing the church. To say that he could not have been at the city without Paul, is an assertion which can neither be proved nor made probable.

[o] Studien und Kritiken for 1838, p. 185.

[p] Ibid. p. 181.

11. With respect to Epaphras, he is styled *one of you* (iv. 12). Had Epaphras founded the church, the apostle, it is alleged, would not have spoken of him thus. But the assertion in question is hazardous. Epaphras is described as a native of Colosse, and therefore he took a special interest in the welfare of his fellow-citizens and neighbours. When the apostle recommends him, what stronger terms could he employ than the following: "Epaphras who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. For I bear him record that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis?" (iv. 12, 13.) What could have been more fitted to draw forth the affection and sympathy of the Colossians, or to fix their esteem? It is true that Onesimus is also described as *one of* the Colossians; but the succeeding words sufficiently distinguish the same phrase applied in the first instance to Onesimus, and in the second to Epaphras. No significance or emphasis could have belonged to an appendage to Epaphras's name, such as "by whom ye believed." That would have been superfluous.

Those who think that Epaphras, or some other person, founded the church at Colosse, are wont to appeal to chapter ii. 1, believing that the clause, "*and as many as have not seen my face in the flesh*," *includes* the Colossians and Laodiceans preceding. Theodoret and Lardner, as we have seen, object to this interpretation, on account of the sudden change of person, affirming that the apostle ought to have written in that case, "that *your* hearts," etc., instead of "*their* hearts." But we have already attempted to shew that the exposition which involves in it the idea of Paul never having seen the Colossians, is the most natural.

On the whole, it is most probable that the church at Colosse was planted by *Epaphras*. It is strange that we know so little of him. The notices of him in the New Testament are very brief. It may be inferred from Col. iv. 12, that he was a native of Colosse. Paul styles him *a servant of Christ* (iv. 12), *my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus* (Philem. 23); and *our dear fellow-servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ* (Col. i. 7). Perhaps he had been sent forth during the

apostle's long abode at Ephesus, to preach the gospel in those parts of Asia Minor and of Phrygia which Paul was unable to visit in person. It would appear that he was put into prison some time after he had visited the apostle at Rome. As he had been commissioned by Paul to proclaim the truths of Christianity, all confidence was reposed in him. He taught the same doctrines and inculcated the same duties as his inspired preceptor. According to Olshausen, he is styled a faithful minister of Christ *in Paul's stead.* If the apostles were ambassadors *for Christ*, or *in Christ's stead*, as is affirmed in the second epistle to the Corinthians (v. 20), their assistants and co-workers were in like manner *their* representatives. But the reading ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (Col. i. 7), preferred by Olshausen and Steiger, is not so well attested as to be beyond suspicion. It is approved indeed by Griesbach, and taken into the text by Lachmann and Tischendorf. But the common reading ὑμῶν is probably the right one. Accordingly, De Wette, Meyer, and Huther adhere to it. The sense of the expression is, *for your benefit.*

Some have supposed Epaphras to be the same person as Epaphroditus one of the Philippian pastors, the name being an abbreviated form of Epaphroditus. So Grotius, Greswell, and apparently Winer. But it is much more probable that they were different persons. So Beausobre, Lardner, Steiger, Boehmer, Rheinwald, Meyer, De Wette, and others believe.

But though the church at Colosse was founded by Epaphras, he was not their only teacher. He was assisted by others, such as Archippus and Philemon. This obviates the objection made by Benson,[q] that the Colossians would not send away their apostle while the church was yet in an infant state. The apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors. They were not dependent on one individual for spiritual oversight.

It is by no means likely that the honour of founding the Colossian church was due to Timothy, as Michaelis is disposed to think.

[q] The History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p. 281.

IV. *Who were the parties at Colosse whom the apostle condemns as corrupters of the faith.*

In discussing this topic, such particulars as the following present themselves:—

(*a*) Were the false teachers at Colosse of one sect or class, or did they belong to different and distinct parties?

(*b*) Were they Jews or Christians?

(*c*) What were the peculiar tenets they inculcated?

(*a*) When the various features ascribed by the writer to these errorists are collected into one portrait, they appear, at first sight, so contradictory as not to belong to the same individuals. They seem to describe minds of an opposite psychology. Hence Heinrichs attributes the characteristic traits enumerated to persons of various parties—Judaists, Gnostics, and other heretics. In like manner, Whitby thinks that they point partly to Essenes, and partly to Pythagorean philosophers. Nothing improbable appears in the supposition that a *Judaising* tendency is depicted in the words, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days;" and that a *Gnostic* propensity manifests itself in the following: "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind" (ii. 16, 18). The writer does not state that all the errors he condemns were held by the same persons. No part of the epistle is directly or decidedly opposed to the hypothesis that such as disseminated false doctrines among the Colossians belonged to classes essentially distinct, though a line of separation is not drawn between different parties. But when we reflect that Colosse was of comparatively small extent; that the Christians there were not very numerous; and that the persons uniformly censured are treated *collectively;* that the errors in question are successively depicted without any intimation that they belonged to various factions; it is probable that all the features unite in one portrait, and find their appropriate position in the same persons. A comparison of our epistle with the pastoral letters shews that similar errors had been promulgated in Crete and Ephesus. It is therefore

better to assume, with the majority of modern interpreters, that only one class of heretical teachers is pourtrayed in the epistle.

(*b*) Some maintain that they were *Jews*, not *Christians*. Thus Schöttgen, Schmidt, and Schulthess refer the description to the Pharisees. But the mental tendency described is the opposite of the Pharisaic. The Pharisaic Jews were far removed from Gnostic speculation and *false* asceticism. They were occupied with the outward and visible, to the neglect of that spiritual world in which the imagination of the contemplative finds its congenial aliment. In like manner Eichhorn holds, that they were Jews not Christians. In support of his view, he adduces[r] the phrase, "not holding the head" (ii. 19), which is explained, *not believing in Christ*. But this is obviously incorrect. Had they been mere Jews, there would have been no significancy in affirming that they did not believe in Christ. The expression must mean, *not holding fast the Head; not maintaining a belief in His essential dignity and power*, but virtually lowering his preeminence by adopting and disseminating views regarding His person inconsistent with its true glory. Had they not made a profession of Christianity, the apostle would scarcely have described or warned the Colossians against them with so much particularity. The case would have been too obvious to require such opposition on the part of an inspired writer. *Jews* would have been charged at once with absolute rejection of the promised Messiah in the person of the Saviour, and so condemned for their unbelief. It is true that Eichhorn represents them as *indirect* rather than openly avowed opponents of Christianity, blinding the Colossians with a cloud of external sanctity, and acquiring an influence over them by a show of unearthly holiness and the rigid observance of holy days, rather than by hostile attacks on the new religion or oral arguments against it. But the apostle was perfectly able to tear off the mask, and separate mere Jews from Judaisers. He knew their position and character. It is manifest from the tenor of the epistle, that they were professing Christians, not Jews, else superfluous pains are taken to refute them.

The hypothesis of Schneckenburger,[s] adopted by Feilmoser,[t]

[r] Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 289.

[s] Beiträge zur Einleitung, pp. 146-152; and p. 88. [t] Einleit. pp. 429, 430.

may perhaps require a separate notice. It is a modification of Eichhorn's. According to Eichhorn, the false teachers must have rejected Christ absolutely. According to this qualified aspect of it, they placed him among the mediating spirits whom they regarded with superstitious reverence as subordinate guides to the Supreme Deity. Thus the Saviour was lost to view, as it were, amid a host of angels; and the question of his messiahship was naturally put aside by the errorists. Hence their main object was to metamorphose into Jews such as had embraced Christianity. Their chief design was to bring over the Christian church at Colosse into the territory of Judaism, rather than to connect their former theosophic views, by which they had spiritualised their Jewish creed, with the simplicity of the gospel. Thus they are regarded as Jews rather than Judaising christians. They ascribed to Christ a subordinate position, viewing him as the prophet of the heathen world; and to his religion, as intended for the heathen, a subordinate value. They opposed Christianity *indirectly*, deeming that the more prudent course; or rather they were *syncretistic universalists*, who allowed Christ some place in their system, but yet represented Christianity as a form and stage of Judaism. It is difficult to see how the apostle's reasoning is suited to the particular case of such persons. Doubtless his arguments refute their sentiments; but the question is, do they apply to them *primarily* and *directly*. It must be assumed that the apostle knew the exact nature of the errors disseminated. Whether he had received an account of them from Epaphras, or whether he had been made acquainted with them otherwise, ignorance of their precise character cannot be attributed to him. The more insidious the methods taken to seduce the Colossians, and the more artful the snares laid to corrupt them, the more imperative was the duty of tearing away the mask, and unfolding with the greatest plainness the real belief entertained by the heretics. But the apostle has *οὐ κρατῶν*, not *ἔχων τὴν κεφαλήν*; and in the eighth verse of the second chapter, the words *not according to Christ*, subjoined to the preceding, would be irrelevant, not to say trifling, on the ground of these teachers being mere Jews. Besides, Paul's writings shew that *Judaising christians* were far more troublesome to him than *Jews*, that the latter

gradually lost their proselyting spirit as Christianity prevailed, and that when they adopted the new religion in any mode, they sought to *amalgamate it* with their former creed, giving a preponderance to the peculiarities of the one or the other, as their mental temperament or previous habits or degree of faith disposed them. The milder aspect of Judaism towards Christianity which Schneckenburger so ingeniously urges, would lead them all the more readily to incorporate the old religion with the new; or rather to embrace Christianity as promising superior wisdom; and afterwards on partial disappointment to bring it into the bosom of their former Jewish creed instead of absolutely rejecting what they had once adopted. In proportion to the leniency with which they regarded Christianity would be the disinclination to proselytise to *mere Judaism*, and the consequent desire to go over, nominally at least, to the new religion. But it is needless to enter at length into a refutation of views which have been combated at length and successfully by Rheinwald.[u] The truth of our observations on this head will be more apparent when it is recollected that the Ebionites are always regarded as a sect within the visible enclosure of Christianity, though holding *very few* of its tenets, and but slightly differing, as Origen asserts, from mere Jews. It is *possible* that the Ebionites may have been originally nothing but Jews; but we believe they were always Jewish christians who denied the divinity of Jesus, asserting that he was only a man. A comparison of *the pastoral* epistles will also prove that the false teachers were *Judaising christians*. It would appear from them that individuals holding the same tenets farther developed had appeared elsewhere—*Jewish Gnosticising christians*, as Paul's polemic observations in those epistles plainly teach.

Had the errorists in question been no more than Jews, it is not easy to account for the mild polemics of the apostle, or the full significance of his earnest serious warnings against them. Should they not have been openly condemned as antichristians? If, as Schneckenburger asserts, the tolerance of these Jews towards Christianity was only an accommodation on their part, the more

[u] See his Treatise, entitled, "De Pseudo-doctoribus Colossensibus."

effectually to accomplish their object—an object that was nothing less than the seducing of the Colossians away from the pale of Christianity—should the apostle have been less direct or severe in his condemnation of their designs? Would he not all the more plainly have warned the believers against their insidious arts? Thus every view that can be taken of the subject tends to the conclusion that the errorists were not *merely* Jews, but *Judaising christians* with a strong mystic-ascetic bias.

If there be any weight in these remarks, they will apply to every hypothesis which assumes that the heretical teachers were Jews alone,[v] and must be carried back to the view received by some, viz. that they were simply Pharisees. One thing is certain, that the teachers in question are alluded to in such a manner as shews they still stood by themselves, without the enclosure of the church.

Though Hug's[x] opinion is obscure as respects the point whether they were Jews or Christians, yet it appears most probable that he held the former. They were Jews by birth who had imbibed the Chaldean or Magian philosophy.

In like manner, Juncker[y] supposes them to have been Jews addicted to the new Platonism of Alexandria—philosophers well versed in the Logos doctrine then prevalent in Egypt among the cultivated.

In opposition to every view of the false teachers which represents them as *mere Jews*, not Christians, the epistle itself appears to us to furnish unmistakeable statements and hints. The writer does not speak of the possibility or probability of the Colossians *wholly apostatising from* Christianity, but of their becoming unsettled in the essential principles of it. Such passages as i. 23, ii. 6, 8, 19, cannot be properly explained on any other hypothesis than that which assumes a profession of Christianity on the part of those against whom the church at Colosse is warned.

(*c*) Assuming that they were Jewish Christians, let us now examine their peculiar tendencies of mind more closely.

In Phrygia, there was a mixture of the oriental and occidental

[v] See Steiger, Der Brief Pauli an die Kolosser, Einleit. pp. 94-96.

[x] Einleitung, vol. ii. §§ 130-132, p. 361, et seq.

[y] Kommentar, Einleit. p. 43, et seq.

tendencies. The national character appears to have been strongly tinctured with *the enthusiastic* and *mystical*. Such a propensity turned in a heathen direction may be observed in the fanatical worship of Cybele; while in the direction of Christianity it appears in the Montanism of the second century. During the apostolic age, many Jews were dispersed through Asia Minor. Considerable numbers had taken up their abode there, previously to the birth of Jesus. According to Josephus,[z] Antiochus the Great ordered two thousand Jewish families, with all their effects, to be transplanted from Babylon and Mesopotamia into Phrygia. Nor were the Jews who had settled in this region of one party alone; they belonged to all the sects into which the nation was divided. Now the people of that time, both Jews and heathen, were prone to speculations respecting the invisible world. Eager to stretch their view beyond the material, they pushed their inquiries into the region of spirits and higher intelligences. And it may be readily conceived, that the thirst after knowledge so aërial was accompanied by considerable dissatisfaction, because the votaries arrived at no definite conclusions. They did not attain to a solution of their doubts. In the domain of their shadowy speculations, they found no substantial resting-place. This was the prevailing propensity of the human mind, especially of the Phrygian, at the period in question. Amid the general desire for superior wisdom and communion with higher orders of being, Christianity was embraced all the more readily as the means of affording that relief to the spirit which it had sought elsewhere in vain; inasmuch as this new religion professes to release mankind in some degree from the bondage of the body, and to communicate a divine knowledge.

But we must consider the tendencies of *the Jewish mind itself* prior to the reception of Christianity, and the different phases it presented, before the effect of the contact of such mind with the simple doctrine of the New Testament can be rightly apprehended. There is in mind generally the practical and the speculative tendency. The former predominated in the Pharisees; the latter in the Essenes, a contemplative class who lived secluded from the

[z] Antiqq. xii. 3.

world, exhibiting a theosophic spirit united to an ascetic bias. But the Essenes were not the only Jews who manifested this mental bias. Many others evinced a mystic-ascetic propensity. At first sight indeed asceticism might appear inconsistent with the theoretic spirit. It might seem improbable that the practical and the speculative should be united in the same individuals. But *a false* asceticism, so far from being incongruous with the theoretic propensity, is nearly allied to it. When once the mind turns aside in a wrong direction, or tries to penetrate the region of clouds and shadows, it engenders notions of the material which partake of the illusions gathered amid airy speculations. It will then be more keenly felt that the body is a clog to the heaven-born spirit, by hindering assimilation to angels and spirits, or by obstructing the soul's desires after the invisible and immaterial. Hence the outward frame will be neglected, and its natural appetites unduly restrained; as though they had a direct tendency to hinder communion with the spiritual world. If we reflect also that strict asceticism, as in the case of the false teachers at Colosse, often rested on the belief that matter is *essentially evil*, we shall readily perceive the alliance between philosophical speculation and rigid abstinence.

The elements of theosophic asceticism were already contained in the Jewish Cabbala. It is true that these elements, with which the apostolic age was deeply imbued, had not been incorporated into a formal organism; but they were in active operation and widely diffused notwithstanding. Soon after the apostolic period they were wrought up into compacted systems.

Let it be observed too, that Alexandria was the metropolis of philosophy before and during our Saviour's time. There Jewish theosophy assumed various garbs. There it was extensively cultivated. Allegorical interpretation was fashionable. A higher meaning was attached to the outward symbols of Judaism. A hidden sense was extracted from every part of the Old Testament. Contemplating the external as thus connected with the internal, the learned Jews of Egypt desired to penetrate through it into the recesses of the latter, and so to arrive at profound mysteries which it was the privilege of the initiated alone to apprehend. Such was the class to which Philo belonged—a class resembling

the persons to whom allusion is made in the present epistle. Now the influences emanating from Alexandria were extensive. A place where philosophical Judaism found its central point must have had no ordinary effect on the Jews residing in other regions, especially the neighbouring ones. Doctrines passed through it from the east to the west. Between the developments of the eastern and western mind, it must be regarded as the principal centre of union. Here were many contemplative Essenes or Therapeutae; and thence came forth a powerful stimulus to the intellectual appetite of Jewish brethren, and even of cultivated heathen, who had not the good fortune to reside at the fountain, and to catch the enthusiasm fresh from its source. It is unnecessary on the present occasion to develop the prevailing elements of the Alexandrine theology about the time of our Lord's advent, especially those peculiar elements which constituted the prominent part of Philo's creed. There was a twofold tendency to mystical speculation, viz. the Grecian-philosophic and the Oriental-theosophic: the former more apparent in Philo, the latter in the case before us.

When Jews addicted to such theosophic asceticism were led to embrace Christianity, they could not easily abandon their former bias, however opposite to the simple purity of the gospel. Ignorant perhaps of the extent and reality of the self-denial which the gospel demands, they adopted it as offering spiritual freedom, and affording farther insight into that immaterial world in which their imaginations loved to luxuriate. But Christianity grasped by minds of mystical, enthusiastic tendencies must have partially disappointed their hopes, especially as they were averse to the renunciation of that boasted wisdom which must be laid at the foot of the cross. In these circumstances, it was natural for theorisers to modify and adapt the gospel to their wonted modes of thought, to bring it into union with their mystic notions, and to cast it anew in the mould of their own theosophy. Hence pure Christianity was disfigured. It *cannot* be associated with the heterogeneous speculations of Oriental theosophy, without deterioration of its genuine character. The house where God's ark is placed cannot allow a rival occupant. Dagon must fall to the ground. Such was the mode in which it was attempted to

incorporate a theosophic religion with Christianity. The false teachers in question were essentially Jewish-Gnostics, whose previous tendencies had not been subdued by the all-pervading influence of genuine truth. They modified the gospel to suit their particular views.

We are now prepared to give a decisive opinion on the question whether the so-called *philosophy* consisted of elements foreign to Judaism, or of materials emanating from that religion alone. We have seen the kind of religious notions current among some of the Jewish sects. Josephus and Philo, who are the principal sources[a] of information on this point, shew that philosophical speculations identical with those inculcated by the errorists at Colosse, occupied the minds of the inquiring Jews, and were propagated as matters of recondite knowledge concealed from the mass of mankind. It has been thought difficult, however, to find among the Jews of that period, evidence of the fact that the worship of angels (ii. 18) was held by any *sect* in the time of Paul; and again, to discover such sentiments as the apostle confronts by declaring Christ to be the Head of all principality and power (ii. 10), having spoiled principalities and powers, made a show of them openly, and triumphed over them in his sufferings, *i. e.* peculiar sentiments relative to orders of angels, and subordinate deities supposed to possess creative energy. Josephus indeed speaks of the three different forms in which the Mosaic religion had been moulded as different *philosophical* directions. Hence the term *philosophy* does not necessarily lead the inquirer beyond the bounds of the Old Testament religion, though it is too narrow to confine it, with Tittmann, exclusively to the Jewish law. According to the account given of the Essenes, we should have expected that they should have reverenced angels or celestial spirits. Perhaps it will not be needful even here to travel beyond the limits of Judaism. The mental propensity already described as belonging to the Jews in Phrygia is nearly allied to an angelological tendency. In consequence of their proneness to the mysterious and magical, they were eager to cultivate connexion with superior beings. It is generally ad-

[a] See also Pliny's Nat. Hist. v. 15 (17).

mitted, that the Jews brought many notions concerning spirits and demons from Babylon; and there is little doubt that the cabbalistic doctrine respecting such beings had a strong tincture of Orientalism. Accordingly, Josephus states of the *Essenes* that they *observed the names of angels.*[b] The Alexandrian Jews approved of the sentiment that angels were *internuncii* between God and good men—a sentiment which would prepare the way for the adoration of these beings. Still more directly to our purpose is a passage in the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, which states that the Jews adored angels and archangels; and Grabe[c] attributes this treatise to the first century. These Jewish theosophists may have paid a superstitious reverence to angels, not only because angels were present in great numbers at the giving of the law, but because from them were supposed to proceed mysterious powers which raised the initiated far above the multitude. Their acquaintance with the superior natures of the invisible world was supposed to give them a certain relation to the Supreme Deity. "In that Judaising sect," says Neander, "which here came into conflict with the simple apostolic doctrine, we see the germ of the Judaising Gnosticism. Though the account given by Epiphanius of the conflict between Cerinthus and the apostle Paul is not worthy of credit, yet at least between the tendency which Paul here combats and the tendency of Cerinthus, the greatest agreement is found to exist; and, judging by internal marks, we may consider the sect here spoken of to be allied to the Cerinthian. It is remarkable that to a late period traces of such a Judaising angelological tendency were to be found in those parts; for at the Council of Laodicea, canons were framed against a Judaising observance of the sabbath, and a species of angelolatry; and even in the ninth century we find a kindred sect, the Athinganians."[d]

That we may obtain an accurate knowledge of the opinions of these heretics, let us consider the passage in which they are described. The apostle warns the Colossians against a theosophy styled vain and deceitful, because the superior wisdom of which

[b] B. J. ii. 8, 7. [c] Spicilegium Patrum, vol. i. pp. 381, 382.
[d] Geschichte der Pflanzung, u. s. w. p. 516.

it boasted was nothing but a delusion; stating at the same time that it was based on human traditions and Jewish rabbinic rites, without proceeding from Christ, or being in harmony with his doctrine. In opposition to it he sets forth the cardinal truth of the New Testament that the entire fulness of the divine perfections and the divine wisdom dwelt in Christ bodily; that He is superior to all angels and spirits; and that Christians by communion with Him alone receive every thing relating to the divine life and spiritual knowledge which is needed for their complete happiness. United to, and engrafted in Him, they require no other mediator. After affirming the spiritual circumcision of the Colossian believers, whence it may be inferred that the errorists insisted on the outward rite as necessary to Gentile christians, he reminds them that their sins were forgiven, that they had been delivered from the bondage of the law as a system of legal observances, and that Christ triumphed over all evil spirits—all the opposing powers of the universe—by means of his cross, publicly shewing that he was their conqueror. In consequence of this description of Christ's perfection on the one hand, and the completeness belonging to his people in union with him, on the other—because he is the Head of the entire church and of all spirits—the Colossians are exhorted not to allow any man to condemn them for the non-observance of ceremonial ordinances and Jewish rites pertaining to meats and drinks, new-moon feasts, holy days, or Jewish sabbaths, which externals were only a shadow of futurities, Christ himself being the substance. They are farther admonished not to allow themselves to be beguiled so as to lose the reward attached to faith in Christ, by a pretended humility and by the worship of angels, on the part of those who pryed impertinently into things hidden from human vision, and were vainly puffed up with carnal conceit. These persons did not hold fast *the Head*, from whom alone all growth and nutriment are communicated to the united members of the body. If, says the apostle, ye be dead with Christ to legal observances and superstitious rites, how can ye adopt, as if ye belonged to the world, maxims of human invention enjoining abstinence from meats and drinks, since all such material things are perishable? These false teachers viewed matter as the principle of evil, avoiding contact

with external things as much as they could, especially with flesh and strong drink, because by these they were thought to expose themselves to the malignant influence of evil spirits who were connected with matter. Such ascetic practices have the appearance of superior wisdom in an arbitrarily invented worship, an affected humility which can only approach the Deity through the medium of angels, and in maceration of the body; but yet they have nothing excellent in themselves or becoming to the body; they only serve to gratify the unrenewed mind by ministering to its pride and self-conceit.

It has been disputed, whether these heretics abstained from marriage, and entertained the *docetic* view of Christ's nature. In support of the former, Col. ii. 21 is adduced, particularly the expression *μὴ ἅψῃ*, which is applied similarly in 1 Cor. vii. 1. Reference is also made to 1 Tim. iv. 3, where it is implied that teachers of erroneous doctrine, similar to these at Colosse, enjoined celibacy at Ephesus. In favour of the latter, their idea of matter, and the prevailing belief of most heretics afterwards called Gnostics, appear to speak. But heresies were not developed at first in all their consequences; and the ascetics at Rome whom Paul mentions, were not *docetic* (Romans xiv.). Perhaps they did *not* hold these peculiar aspects of asceticism. The data on which they are assigned to them are indefinite and doubtful. The tendency of mind described is one that would *consistently lead to* these manifestations of superstition; but the contents of the epistle scarcely justify the assumption.

The entire passage supports the idea that there is no need to derive the false philosophy combated by the apostle from a source foreign to Judaism, either wholly or in part. It was the product of Jewish mind speculating on divine things, and prying into curious questions beyond the reach of human research. The traditions the Judaists had received from their fathers, the Cabbala with its complex orders of beings, and their own investigation of unseen things, sufficiently account for the opinion in question. The heretics aimed at did not adopt their peculiar creed *directly* from any other quarter. They found it in their own books; or rather, it had been already incorporated with the current ideas of the cultivated. Hence we need not have

recourse, with Hug and Stuart,[c] to the Chaldee or Oriental philosophy, of which a full exhibition is presented by Jamblichus. The legal rites of the Mosaic economy along with those Rabbinic traditional observances which Jewish superstition had superadded, had been carried over into the domain of Christianity. Thus the great doctrine of justification by faith alone was virtually impugned. Judaism was idealised; and a rigid asceticism founded on the inherent evil of matter was practised. The errorists whose principles we have been considering indulged in philosophic and theosophic theories based on ancient traditions, and were reluctant to renounce their pretensions to higher wisdom, or their connexion with spirits, for the humbling doctrine of the gospel. Their pride would not deign to bow before the cross. They sought to cast Christianity into the mould of their own theosophy.

But although it is superfluous to go beyond Judaism for the theosophy of the false teachers, yet there is some reason for the opinion of Hug, which finds the source and exposition of *the philosophy* condemned by the apostle in *the Magian* or *emanation*-philosophy. Were it needful to trace the causes of the Jewish notions then prevalent in Asia Minor, it could be shewn that the traditional belief of the Jews had been affected by that peculiar offspring of Oriental mind. Ever since the Hebrews resided in Babylon, they were more or less influenced by the religion of their Chaldean conquerors. That religion contributed without doubt to enlarge and modify the articles of their former faith. The Jewish people were ever inclined to engraft foreign superstitions on the national worship. Thus the mixed race afterwards called Samaritan, the majority of whom came from beyond the Euphrates, would probably vitiate the creed of their neighbours by a tincture of idolatry; for on returning from captivity many of the restored exiles were intimately associated with that people. There was also a constant communication between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the myriads of Jews who continued to reside beyond the Euphrates. The latter attended the festivals, and observed other customs peculiar to their native land. It is

[c] American Biblical Repository and Observer for 1836, ii. p. 394, et seq.

therefore natural to suppose, that several features of the Magian religion would be communicated to the national belief.

But this Oriental philosophy was not the principal source from which the Gnosticism of the errorists in question remotely emanated. It had no more than an *indirect* and *distant* bearing on their sentiments. There is ground too for the opinion which recognises in these false teachers Christian Platonists or Platonising Judaists. There can be little doubt that the influences arising from the new Platonism current in Alexandria affected Cabbalistic Judaism.

It might be shewn also that such as find a condemnation of the Pythagorean philosophy in the present epistle are not *wholly* in error. Plato adopted many of Pythagoras's opinions, especially his doctrines of *ideas* and the transmigration of souls. In the time of the Ptolemies, several philosophers of this sect fled from Italy to Alexandria where Platonism was prevalent.

It will be seen moreover, that those who refer the philosophy of these errorists to *Cabbalism*, so that they may be termed *Cabbalistic* teachers of false doctrine, are partly right, because they held the elements of the Cabbala as afterwards wrought up into *a system*. The Cabbala, *properly so called*, is of later origin. The germs of it were now in existence. Hence Herder, Kleuker, and Osiander are not wholly wrong.

But it is not consistent with our purpose to trace the history of Jewish opinions and traditions, else we should investigate the Alexandrian tendencies as they contributed to form and change the speculations of the Jews residing in Egypt.

It will thus be seen, that it is not expedient to travel beyond the Judaism of the period for an explanation of the passage in which the tenets of the false teachers are pointed out, since Magianism, Platonism, the philosophy of Greece, and the germs of Cabbalism, as far as they were the genuine product of the Jewish mind itself, had previously imparted a considerable tinge to the creed of the people. Whatever portions of these systems had been incorporated with Judaism, were associated with it so intimately before the advent of Christ as to form a part of its nature. They had been already wrought up into its component elements; and unless we go back to trace the history of phi-

losophy, the intermingling of different systems, the points of contact with traditional Judaism they presented, and the localities where they were adopted by the ancient people of God, it is sufficient to take the current belief *as it was*. Nor should the attention be confined to *Jewish* opinions and tendencies. The direction of cultivated heathen mind in Phrygia and Asia Minor generally should also be marked, as affected by the combined elements of different philosophical systems. The true view substantially appears to us to have been given by Boehmer,[f] Neander,[g] Olshausen,[h] De Wette,[i] and Meyer.[k] Mayerhoff[l] comes near it, but his opinion is too restricted.

After this illustration of the peculiar tenets propagated by the errorists at Colosse, it may be useful to state other opinions.

Some think that philosophy in general, *all philosophy*, is forbidden. So Tertullian, Euthalius, and Calixtus. Others restrict the warning given, to *certain classes* of philosophers; to the Epicureans, as Clement of Alexandria; to the Pythagoreans, as Grotius; or to such as united the Platonic and Stoic doctrines, as Heumann imagines. None of these opinions deserves much notice. *Heathen* philosophy the apostle cannot mean by φιλοσοφία, because the philosophy is spoken of as an emanation of Judaism, or at least as standing in close connexion with it.

Michaelis thinks that the false teachers were disciples of Apollos. Heinrichs, endeavouring to make his view sufficiently comprehensive, put with the disciples of Apollos the followers of John the Baptist, the Essenes, and other Judaisers, as also a malevolent party belonging to heathenism. Such opinions need no refutation.

Much nearer the truth are those who find Christian Essenes

[f] Isagoge in Epistolam a Paulo Apost. ad Colossenses datam, etc. § 12, p. 56, et seq.

[g] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 507, et seq.; and Kleine Gelegenheitsschriften, p. 40, et seq.

[h] Commentar, Einleit. § 2, p. 311, et seq.

[i] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 4, 2nd edition, Einleit. 2, p. 9, et seq.

[k] Kommentar, Einleit. § 2, p. 2, et seq.

[l] Der Brief an die Colosser mit vornehmlicher Berucksichtigung, u. s. w. p. 157, et seq.

in this epistle. So Chemnitz, Zachariae, Storr, Flatt, Venturini, Credner, and Thiersch. Many of the features drawn by Paul agree with the character of this sect as Josephus describes it. Their asceticism is quite similar to that of the heretics who endeavoured to seduce the Colossian converts. The objection made to this view, that the Essenes were only to be found in Palestine and Syria, is of no force, as Credner proves. Neither does their disinclination to proselytism form a valid objection, since other influences may have modified their original character. Perhaps too it is not conclusive to urge against it the virtuous principles ascribed by Josephus to the Essenes, viz. their modesty, piety, love of justice, benevolence, etc., as contrasted with the affected humility and empty pride of these false teachers. But the view is one-sided. There is no good ground for restricting the individuals to the Essenes *alone*. Other Jews besides the Essenes manifested the mental bias delineated by the apostle, though it is quite probable that this sect furnished the majority of the errorists. They led a *contemplative* life, which agrees well with the general statements of our epistle; but they were not the only persons of that age to whom the description applies.

We shall now very briefly present the result of our investigation.

1. The false teachers referred to by the apostle in this epistle were not Jews, but Jewish christians. As such they held *human tradition, the rudiments of the world*, i.e. the elementary principles embodied in the Mosaic law (ii. 8), the Mosaic regulations respecting meats and drinks, festivals, new-moons, and sabbaths (ii. 16), the necessity of circumcision (ii. 11). Thus they insisted generally on observing the rites and ceremonies belonging to the Jewish dispensation.

2. With their Judaising christianity they united a peculiar theosophy and asceticism. Their theosophy partook of a mystic character, and their asceticism rested on a false basis. By virtue of their so-called philosophy they speculated on things beyond the reach of human knowledge, occupying their minds with notions regarding the world of spirits, so that they even came to worship angels and to entertain an affected humility, as though they were not worthy to approach the Deity except through the

intervention of higher beings than themselves (ii. 18). They lessened Christ's dignity by putting him among "the principalities and powers" of the spiritual world; whereas the apostle asserts His pre-eminent and sole supremacy, styling him εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, *embodying the attributes and characteristics of the Supreme* (i. 14, 15). In consequence of the inferior position assigned to Christ they seem not to have attributed the creation of the world to him, but to *spirits* or *angels;* and to have had disparaging conceptions of the nature and extent of the atonement which he made as Redeemer (i. 13, 16, 20-22; ii. 11-15). They looked on matter as essentially evil. Hence their rigid asceticism for the purpose of purifying themselves from material defilement (ii. 21-23). It is doubtful whether they held the doctrine of Christ's resurrection. The apostle strongly asserts it in some places, not perhaps because they denied it, but in connexion with other ideas he meant to inculcate. The only passages from which we are left to form a conclusion on this point are i. 18; ii. 12, which De Wette thinks sufficient to justify the opinion that they *did* deny Christ's resurrection. But we are disposed with Meyer to believe, that Paul would have combated the errorists more directly and fully had they gainsayed that important doctrine (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 4, etc.).

3. The *main elements* of Essenism were held by them. So also the elements afterwards developed in Gnosticism, especially the Cerinthian aspect of Gnosticism. We should not however look for *all* the peculiarities of the Essene faith, or of the later Gnosticism.

It may be observed in conclusion, that no definite line of separation is drawn between such members as may have been partial to the erroneous notions, and those who steadfastly adhered to the simple faith of the gospel. The collected body of believers is addressed as forming one community. The wavering and the faithful are still joined in the fellowship of the church. This is implied in the twentieth verse of the second chapter: "Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances?" etc. It is quite improbable that these words refer exclusively to such as had been shaken in their faith by the heretics. The

admonitions, instructions, and warnings of the entire epistle are addressed to *the church;* not merely to one section of it, or to certain individuals. In no case is one person singled out or appealed to. Neither are various parties addressed as distinguished from the remaining believers. It has been appropriately observed by Olshausen, that such a mode of writing is perfectly adapted to the first stages of the Christian life: "The first traces of heretical doctrine were exhibited at Colosse. The apostle hastened to crush them in the bud, and to bring back the straying to the right path. He had no cause for tracing these errors to wicked intention. He saw their origin in inexperience and weakness. Hence he does not apply immediately stringent rules, neither does he proceed forthwith to exclude them from church communion; but he advances with forbearance, considering and treating the erring as still members of the church, and seeking to bring them back to truth by a mild exhibition of their wanderings. Some years later the matter would have been treated far differently, when Paul towards the close of life wrote the pastoral letters. The evil intention of the heretics had then appeared openly, and Paul dared not any longer employ unreasonable mildness. The diseased members must be removed, in order to preserve the entire organisation in a healthy state."[m]

V. *The connexion between the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians.*

This has been treated of before under Ephesians.[n]

VI. *The time and place at which the letter was written.*

The time and place at which the epistle was written have been already indicated. It was written at Rome during the apostle's captivity there, at the same time with the Ephesian letter; and was sent by the same bearer. Hence it should be dated A.D. 62.

It would be inexpedient to collect and repeat the various particulars which point to Rome rather than Caesarea as the place of composition. But since Meyer has recently defended Caesarea, attempting to set aside the considerations urged by De Wette

[m] Commentar, Einleit. p. 312.

[n] See p. 344.

and Wieseler in favour of Rome, we shall glance at his statements.

First. According to De Wette, the words of Paul in Col. iv. 3, 11, where he speaks of his labours in the gospel, harmonise with Acts xxviii. 31, since he had opportunities at Rome of promoting the kingdom of Christ: "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds. . . . . These only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God which have been a comfort unto me." Compare Acts xxviii. 31: "Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." But Luke says nothing of such opportunities in Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 31).

To this Meyer replies, that the words of iv. 11 contain no definite information respecting Paul's activity in his imprisonment; while, with regard to iv. 3, it should be observed, that he expresses a desire to have free scope for *future* labours in the gospel.

Now it is quite true that iv. 11 contains no specific information about Paul's exertions in the cause of Christianity during the captivity. But it is obvious, that the persons he mentions had been his fellow-workers *at the place where he was writing.* The epithet *συνεργοί* implies, that he had been active *along with* them. But on comparing Acts xxiv. 23 with Acts xxviii. 31, it will appear that the apostle had not by any means so much liberty at Caesarea as at Rome. In the one place, he was kept under stricter surveillance than the other. Hence, in placing the various fellow-workers enumerated at Col. iv. 10, 11 by his side, it is more natural to think of Rome than of Caesarea. The passage iv. 3 will agree with either locality. But it is unwarrantable to refer it *wholly* to *a future time* of freedom from bonds. It refers mainly to the time of his imprisonment itself—"that God may open to us a door of utterance" *in our bonds and in spite of them.* If this be the true sense, the words suit Rome better than Caesarea.

Secondly. De Wette argues, that in the Epistle to Philemon (verse 22) the apostle gives expression to the hope of making a

journey to Phrygia, which he might do at Rome but not at Caesarea, since he intended in the latter place, as we learn from Acts xix. 21, Romans i. 13, 15, 23, and the vision, Acts xxiii. 11, to go to Rome; whilst the words of Acts xx. 25 shew that he had no idea of returning to Asia Minor.

To this Meyer replies, that though he had no idea of returning to Asia when he uttered the words recorded in Acts xx. 25, yet the purpose to do so might have subsequently entered his mind in Caesarea as well as in Rome; and that too the more readily, inasmuch as if he had been set at liberty in Caesarea his purposed Roman journey might have been connected with one through Asia. Why should he not have hoped to re-visit the scene of his former activity *from Caesarea* as well as from Rome, as long as his appeal to Caesar had not been made?

We do not think that this argument has much weight in favour of Rome, or that Meyer makes it tell in favour of Caesarea. The passages quoted from the Acts, and the apostle's sojourn at Caesarea generally, appear to indicate the apostle's settled desire to go forthwith to Rome. He could scarcely have purposed at that time to go to Rome *through Asia Minor*, but rather to proceed directly to the capital of the West. As to the twenty-second verse of Philemon, it seems to us to express nothing more than a very *faint* hope of seeing him again. And it is certainly more natural that such should have entered Paul's mind at Rome than at Caesarea, because at the latter place he was bent on making his appeal to Caesar in person, and having his case settled, *before he should undertake another missionary tour.*

We abide by our former opinion, that the epistles to Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians were written at Rome. The date of the first three is 62.

VII. *Authenticity and genuineness of the epistle.*

These are amply attested by quotations in Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, as well as by various allusions in Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch.

Irenaeus writes: "Et iterum in epistola quae est ad Colossenses, ait: 'Salutat vos Lucas, medicus dilectus'" (Col. iv. 14).[o]

[o] Advers. Haeres. lib. iii. cap. xiv. sect. i.

"And again in the epistle to the Colossians (Paul) says, 'Luke the beloved physician greets you.'"

Clement of Alexandria says: *Κἂν τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐπιστολῇ, νουθετοῦντες, γράφει, κ. τ. λ.*[p]

"And in the epistle to the Colossians, he (Paul) writes," etc.

Tertullian has the following: "A quibus nos apostolus refraenans, nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses: 'Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, praeter providentiam Spiritus Sancti.'"[q]

"From which things the apostle restraining us, expressly cautions against philosophy, when he writes to the Colossians: 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, contrary to the foresight of the Holy Spirit.'"

The allusions of Justin Martyr may be found in his dialogue with Trypho, where he says: *πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων; πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων.*[r]

"Christ is the first-born of all things made; the first-born of God, and before all the creatures."

Theophilus of Antioch, in his three books to Autolycus, writes: *Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικὸν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως.*[s]

"He begat this emanated Word, the first-born of every creature."

In like manner, Marcion received the epistle into his canon; and Eusebius placed it among the received books (*ὁμολογούμενα*).

The universal reception of the epistle as an authentic composition of the apostle Paul, has recently found some exceptions. Mayerhoff led the way systematically,[t] after Schrader[u] and Baur[x]

[p] Stromata, lib. i. p. 277 (ed. Colon. 1688). Conf. Strom. iv. p. 499; v. p. 576; vi. p. 645.

[q] De Praescript. Advers. Haer. cap. vii. p. 235.

[r] Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 310 - 326 (ed. Colon. 1686).

[s] Lib. ii. p. 100 (ed. Colon. 1686).

[t] Der Brief an die Kolosser mit vorhemlich. Berücksichtig. d. Pastoralbriefe krit. geprüft.

[u] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. v.

[x] In his Treatises on the Pastoral Epistles, and on the Origin of Episcopacy.

had thrown out very significant hints and doubts. Afterwards Baur[y] and his disciple Schwegler[z] appeared directly and decidedly against the authenticity. We reckon it superfluous to give a summary of the objections, with replies to them, because they are never likely to be adopted by any one in this country. De Wette[a] has stated them with great conciseness, and furnished satisfactory answers. It is strange that, in replying to them so well, he was not led to question his own rejection of the authenticity of the Ephesian epistle. There is great similarity in style and diction between the two epistles, so that the critic who doubts of the one may well carry his doubts into the other. Meyer[b] has also furnished a few observations in opposition to Mayerhoff and Baur. Before De Wette and Meyer, Olshausen[c] and Huther[d] had replied to Mayerhoff's posthumous treatise. But indeed these extravagancies of scepticism have found no welcome response even among the rationalising countrymen of their projectors. He who can believe that the epistle was composed out of materials furnished by that to the Ephesians, or that the Gnosticism of the second century called it into existence, has certainly failed to perceive its characteristic peculiarities. The stamp of authenticity is imprinted on every paragraph; and the fabrication of it would be a phenomenon perfectly inexplicable. "Non est cujusvis hominis," says Erasmus, "Paulinum pectus effingere; tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus."[e]

VIII. *Contents.*

The present epistle, like most of those written by Paul, consists of two parts, *a doctrinal* and *a practical.* The first extends from the commencement to ii. 23; the second from iii. 1 to the conclusion. Each of these leading portions may be subdivided into two paragraphs, viz. I. (*a*) i. 1-23; (*b*) i. 24—ii. 23. II. (*c*) iii. 1-17; (*d*) iii. 18—iv. 18.

[y] Paulus der Apostel, u. s. w. pp. 417-457.

[z] Nachapostolisch. Zeitalter, ii. p. 326, et seq.

[a] Einleit. in die Kanonischer Bücher des Neuen Testaments, 5th edit. § 144; and Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 4, 2nd edit. pp. 14, 15.

[b] Des Paulus Brief an die Kolosser, Einleit. § 3.

[c] Commentar, Einleit. p. 306, et seq.

[d] Commentar, p. 418, et seq.

[e] Annot. ad iv. 16.

I. (*a*) After the salutation, the apostle expresses his thanks to God for the faith and love of the Colossian believers, and his unceasing prayer on their behalf, that they might be filled with the knowledge of the divine will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, so as to walk worthy of the Lord and well pleasing in his sight, abounding in good deeds of every kind, for which they were strengthened by the power of God working in them. He again expresses his thanks to God the Father, who had prepared him and the Colossians for the heavenly inheritance, since they had been delivered from the kingdom of ignorance and translated into the spiritual kingdom of the Son, through whose blood alone forgiveness and complete redemption are obtained. The mention of Christ and His atonement suggests the propriety of describing His person and dignity. Accordingly, He is declared to be the Eternal God, the creator and upholder of all things and all beings in the universe, the head of the church, and the first-born of the dead, having pre-eminence over spiritual intelligences as well as renewed humanity. This description was primarily directed against the false teachers, who, by placing the Saviour on an equality with angels, lessened His essential dignity. As Lord over all, Christ is said to have reconciled all things by His blood; and the Colossians also divested of their former enmity, in order that if they continued steadfast in the faith of the gospel they might be presented faultless in the immediate presence of the Almighty.

(*b*) In this paragraph, the apostle expresses his joy in the office to which he had been called, notwithstanding all his sufferings, because these very sufferings tended to promote the progress and to subserve the completeness of the church universal. In discharging the duties of his ministry, he affirms that he had to preach the gospel fully, to instruct and warn all men both Jews and Gentiles, and to present every one perfect in Christ. It was for this that he laboured and earnestly strived, especially for the Christians at Colosse and Laodicea, and as many as had not seen his face. For them he entertained the most earnest solicitude that they might be established and knit together in love, being fully assured in their understandings of the mystery of God—the divine purpose of blessing mankind in that Saviour in whom

are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He then proceeds to caution them against a deceitful wisdom grounded upon human authority and not derived from Christ. In opposition to a philosophy so false and dangerous, he reminds them that all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in Christ bodily, and that they themselves had been spiritually quickened by His grace, having been delivered from the yoke of legal observances and superstitious rites. They ought not to allow themselves therefore to be seduced from the gospel by a pretended wisdom which affected intercourse with angels and spirits, enjoined the observance of ceremonial ordinances, abstinence from meats and drinks, and an ascetic neglect of the body. If they had died with Christ to the law, why should they be again entangled with the yoke of bondage?

II. (*c*) This section is occupied with general precepts of a practical kind, in which the readers are exhorted to be heavenly minded, to withdraw their affections from sinful objects, to crucify the lusts of the flesh, to lay aside such practices as those in which they had once indulged, and to be clothed with virtues belonging to the renewed nature. They are exhorted above all to have the love and peace of God ruling in their hearts, to edify and admonish one another in their mutual intercourse; and at all times to give thanks to God the Father, who had created them anew after the divine image.

(*d*) The writer subjoins various directions relating to domestic life, especially the relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, servants and master. To these is added an exhortation to continued prayer, combined with watchfulness; prayer in particular for the author's release, that he might be at full liberty to preach the gospel. He refers them to Tychicus the bearer of the letter for information regarding his state; as also to Onesimus, of whom he speaks with affection. The closing verses are occupied with salutations from various individuals, and an injunction to have the present epistle read before the Laodicean church, while the epistle sent to Laodicea should also be read in the church at Colosse. The apostle concludes by subscribing the letter with his own hand, and thus imprinting on it the seal of authenticity.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

THE following topics present themselves for examination in connexion with this epistle.

I. ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT THESSALONICA.
II. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING TO IT.
III. IMMEDIATE OCCASION AND OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE.
IV. ITS AUTHENTICITY.
V. CONTENTS.

I. *Origin of the Christian church at Thessalonica.*

Thessalonica, on the site of the ancient *Thermae*, was built at the mouth of the river Echedorus, on the *Sinus Thermaicus*. It was named by Cassander after his wife. In the time of the Roman dominion over it, it was a large, populous, and wealthy city, the metropolis of the second part of Macedonia, and according to the division of Paulus Æmilius, the seat of a Roman president and quaestor. Many Jews resided in it because of its advantageous situation for trade. Paul visited it on his second missionary tour, in company with Silas (not Timothy),[a] soon after he had entered Europe. There they found *the expected* synagogue of the Jews, ἡ συναγωγή (Acts xvii. 1). Considerable success attended the apostle's preaching. Only some of the Jews indeed believed, but a great number of Gentiles who attended the ministrations of the synagogue and had become proselytes, and many of the honourable women united themselves to him (xvii. 4). To them Gentiles won over *immediately* from heathenism were added; so that the body of the converts consisted of Gentiles. A large church was organised, to which comparatively few of Jewish extraction belonged, as may be inferred from 1 Thess. i. 9.

When Luke speaks of the apostle resorting to the synagogue three sabbath days, we must not suppose, as some have done, that

[a] See however Schott, Commentar, Prolegomena, p. 2.

Paul's stay at Thessalonica was *only of three weeks' continuance.*[b] He remained longer, exercising his ministry among the Gentile citizens, till the unbelieving Jews excited an insurrection and drove him away. The idea of his longer sojourn is favoured by Phil. iv. 16 and 1 Thess. ii. 9: "For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity . . . . . For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God."

Olshausen, it is true, affirms that these repeated supplies from Philippi do not belong to the present visit, but to a later one which Paul paid to Thessalonica when he fled from Ephesus (Acts xx. 1, etc.). But the context is adverse to this interpretation. They were sent to him *in the beginning of the gospel, when he departed from Macedonia* (iv. 15), *i. e.* when he first published the gospel among the heathen at the time of his leaving Macedonia. This can refer only to his first visit to Thessalonica.

Although therefore it is probable that the apostle addressed the Gentiles in various places, and availed himself diligently of all the opportunities he had to reach them during the days of the three weeks in which he addressed the Jews once on the sabbath, it is likely that he was obliged to leave the synagogue altogether and to resort to another place. But still his abode in the place was *comparatively* short, so that he was not able to instruct the believers *fully* in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. It has been supposed by De Wette, with great probability, that his preaching took in the main an *apocalyptic* tendency; or, in other words, that it turned on the coming of Christ as ruler of God's kingdom. The leading ideas incorporated in his preaching seem to have been connected with this sublime truth (1 Thess. i. 10). The charges of the Jews agree well with this fact. They are of a political nature. Paul and his companion are accused of acting contrary to the decrees of Caesar and setting up another king, one Jesus (Acts xvii. 7). It is obvious, from the envy and opposition of the Jews, as well as from other circumstances, that the minds of the Thessalonians

[b] See Schott's Commentar, Prolegomena, pp. 3, 4.

had been strikingly impressed with the truth inculcated by the apostle of the Gentiles. They had been unusually excited by the stirring words addressed to them.

Compelled to depart from Thessalonica, Paul and his companion went to Beroea, whither they were followed by the Thessalonian Jews. Hence he was obliged to leave Beroea, Silas and Timothy remaining behind, and was conducted to Athens by sea. The returning messengers had orders for Timothy and Silas to rejoin him at Athens. From the capital of Attica he repaired to Corinth for the first time.

Timothy rejoined the apostle at Athens, agreeably to the commandment he received (Acts xvii. 5); but Silas remained at Beroea. The state of the converts at Thessalonica, however, caused him to send Timothy to them from Athens (1 Thess. iii. 1, 2).

Hug, Hemsen, and Burton give a different representation of the matter. They suppose that Timothy was sent by Paul from Beroea to visit the Thessalonians. "When Paul reached Athens," says Burton, "he gave up the idea of shortly being joined there by Silas and Timothy, according to the directions which he had given them at Beroea; and making up his mind to stay there by himself (iii. 1), he sent word to Timothy to go to Thessalonica to confirm and exhort the Christians there."[c] But the words of 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2 clearly favour the other view. That Silas too rejoined the apostle at Athens, and was sent thence to Beroea, as Michaelis and Schott suppose, is quite improbable.

II. *Time and place of writing to it.*

The circumstances connected with the founder and the church itself, at the time of writing, may be gathered from the epistle. Silas and Timothy were with him, and are therefore included in the salutation at the commencement of the letter. His recollection of the visit he had paid the Thessalonians and the effects of it, was fresh and lively (i. 9, ii. 1, etc.). Full of longing desire to see them again, he had endeavoured more than once to accomplish his purpose, but had been prevented by the opposition and threatening of his enemies (iii. 10, ii. 17, 18). His exceeding

[c] On the Chronology of St. Paul's Epistles, Works, vol. iv. p. 48.

anxiety on their behalf, and the hindrances thrown in the way of the determination he had formed to see them again soon after he had been driven away, had induced him to send Timothy to establish and comfort them in the faith of the gospel (iii. 1, 2). They needed to be thus confirmed and consoled. They had suffered persecutions. They were exposed to afflictions. Temptations assailed their faith, which was yet imperfect. Hence they required farther instruction and admonition. The Christian life within them was comparatively undeveloped (iii. 2, 10, 13).

Timothy had returned with good tidings of their faith, and love, and grateful remembrance of Paul (iii. 6-13). But there was still necessity for exhortation touching certain *moral* duties about which the apostle had cautioned them when he was with them. They were not free from that uncleanness which was a remnant of heathenism, and for which their city was notorious.[d] The expectation of Christ's reappearance excited enthusiastic notions in many, so that they exhibited a spirit of restless excitement prejudicial to the orderly performance of daily duties. Enthusiastic addresses of prophets had led to the opposite extreme of want of toleration for such as were gifted with a genuine inspiration. An excessive dread of enthusiasm had led many to class all utterances accompanied with unusual elevation of mind, whether genuine or otherwise, under the same head. These as well as other symptoms called for animadversion (iv. 3-6, 11, etc. v. 14). They indulged also in hopeless sorrow over the fate of their deceased friends, or the destiny of such as were about to die, from ignorance of the fact that they would be *immediate* partakers of happiness in the society of Jesus.

All this agrees with the fact that the church had been recently formed, and that Timothy had just returned with minute, and on the whole favourable, accounts from it. Hence we infer, that the first epistle was written from Corinth, the place where Silas and Timothy joined Paul, and very shortly after they had come from Macedonia (ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν, iii. 6). It must therefore be dated towards the commencement of the apostle's first visit to Corinth, A. D. 52. It was the first of all Paul's epistles.

[d] See *Lucian's* Lucius sive Asinus, vol. vi. ed. Bipont. p. 191, et seq.

Lardner derives a singular argument from the letter itself in favour of its being the first apostolical epistle: "Near the end of this epistle (ch. v. 27) are these remarkable words, 'I charge, or adjure you by the Lord (*ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Κύριον*) that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.' . . . . . Paul knowing the plenitude of the apostolical commission, now demands the same respect to be paid to his writings, with those of the ancient prophets. This is a direction fit to be inserted in the first epistle written by him. And the manner in which it is given suggests an argument that this was his first apostolical epistle."[e] It would be difficult to shew the suitableness or cogency of this observation.

Notwithstanding the very general agreement of critics respecting the early date of this epistle, a few have endeavoured to shew that the prevailing opinion is not well founded. For this purpose they appeal to various statements, interpreting them in favour of the opinion that the apostle had visited the Thessalonians more than once before he wrote to them, or that he did not send his first epistle so soon as a few months after his first personal visit.

The passages alleged to prove a later date are 1 Thess. i. 8; iii. 1, 2; iv. 11, 12, compared with 2 Thess. iii. 10, 11; iv. 13; v. 12; 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2; iii. 17. Let us glance at them.

1 Thess. i. 8. "For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad; so that we need not to speak any thing."

"From this passage," says Michaelis, "we must conclude, that St. Paul had been in various places, after he had founded the church at Thessalonica."[f] But the words do not state or imply that he had already preached the gospel *out of* Macedonia and Achaia—that he had proclaimed the truth *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*, in other places besides Macedonia and Achaia just mentioned; and we are astonished that Schrader and Böttger should coincide with Michaelis in the interpretation in question. The meaning of the passage is simply, that the report of the faith of the Thessalonians

[e] Lardner's Works, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 286.

[f] Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. iv. p 25.

had been carried beyond Macedonia and Achaia. In every place their faith was matter of notoriety, so that the apostle had no need to say any thing in their praise. It is wrong to confine ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ with Schott, to Macedonia and Achaia alone. It obviously alludes to other parts, and is somewhat hyperbolical; not *every place* absolutely, but *many other places* besides Macedonia and Achaia. The report had spread undoubtedly by means of travellers, merchants, and such like. It had even reached Corinth, where the apostle was. Persons from remote parts spoke of the things they had heard in their native places respecting the Thessalonians. It is not at all necessary to assume that Paul had first met with the report while he travelled in other parts besides Macedonia and Achaia; for he could hear of it *at Corinth*, which was the metropolis and centre of commerce for many distant places.

1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone; and sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith;" compared with verse 6: "But now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also to see you."

It is affirmed, that the presence of Timothy with the apostle at Athens, asserted in the words quoted, is opposed to Acts xvii. 15, 16, xviii. 5. Hence a later visit of the apostle to Athens must be assumed, on his journey to Achaia, during which Timothy was with him and was dispatched to Thessalonica.

In opposition to Koehler and Wurm, who make the nominative case to the two verbs εὐδοκήσαμεν and ἐπέμψαμεν (1 Thess. iii. 1, 2) to be *Paul* and *Silas*, we supply Paul alone, as in ii. 18, where *we* would have come to you is directly explained, *even I Paul*, once and again. The last words do not mean that Paul had adopted the resolution to go to Thessalonica oftener than Silas, because this does not agree with the next clause, "but Satan hindered *us*." Paul had resolved twice to go to them, but Satan had prevented him. The fifth verse is very clear: "For

this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be in vain." These words, which are parallel to those in iii. 1, shew that *the plural* in the one is synonymous with *the singular* in the other, both meaning Paul himself.

On comparing 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2 with the Acts of the Apostles, it will be found that there is no necessity for assuming that the sojourn at Athens is a different, and therefore a later one, from that mentioned by Luke. The general tenor of the epistle is unfavourable to the hypothesis, by shewing that the composition must have been soon after the first proclamation of the gospel in Thessalonica. Were it necessary, various minute particulars might be stated which militate against the assumption of a later visit to Athens. It can never be rendered probable that Paul, Silas, and Timothy were there together *even at the first visit*, much less at any subsequent one.

1 Thess. iv. 11, 12, and 2 Thess. iii. 10, 11. "And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing."

There is a repetition of the same thing in 2 Thess. iii. 10, 11. "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies."

These irregularities which had appeared and spread in the church are thought to indicate a second visit on the part of the apostle to the Thessalonians. He had seen an idle, indolent habit among the members—the going about from house to house and living at others' expense. This was impossible, while they saw him earning his bread most laboriously and taking no support from any of them that he might set an example of self-denying labour, during the brief visit he first paid them.

Paul had doubtless observed the disposition of the Thessalonians at his first visit. It was indolent. They were inclined to saunter about from house to house, without devoting themselves diligently to their proper avocations. Thus they became tattlers and busy-

bodies. In reference to this manifestation of character he told them, that if any would not work he should not eat. But the propensity was not easily subdued. It *continued* to exhibit itself. Hence he writes: "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies." There is nothing unlikely in the supposition that though Paul set so palpable and noble an example before the Thessalonians in his own person, they should have exhibited their prevailing habit. If it belonged to them before conversion, we can easily conceive that it was not eradicated *at once*. But it probably arose from the effect of the apostle's preaching on their susceptible imaginative spirits. The idea of the Lord's coming had taken possession of their souls, and made them indifferent to the toils of earth. It transported them beyond the present life, engrossing their thoughts and indisposing them for secular matters. They were carried out of themselves. True it was that they saw the apostle strenuously working while he preached; but the presence and example of an apostle had not so great an influence over the early converts as we are ready to imagine. The very circumstance of their seeing and hearing him daily detracted from that profound respect with which he should have been regarded, and with which the cultivated Christian *would* doubtless have looked upon him. Such is the infirmity of human nature. Such the power of sense over the loftiest emotions. What the poet says of nature is unfortunately applicable to men—even to those who ought on all grounds to be exempted from the sensuous principle—"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

1 Thess. iv. 13. "But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope."

In this passage Paul comforts the Thessalonians concerning several believers who had died in the interval between their conversion and his writing the epistle. Is it conceivable, that he had to console these Christians whom he had just gained over to Christianity, immediately after his departure, for their deceased friends? Such comfort is quite natural if nine years had elapsed since the church's planting; but the space of time usually assumed is too short to allow of the reasonable belief that various members

had passed into another state. In this manner Schrader reasons. But the interval is not too short to forbid the idea of several being already dead, when we consider that Paul was at Thessalonica *more* than three weeks, which the critic did not perceive; and that half a year at least must have elapsed. And then the apostle speaks of afflictions and persecutions which the believers at Thessalonica had been called to suffer. Perhaps some had lost their lives. It is certainly unwarrantable to assume that all had died a natural death. But these things are not absolutely necessary to explain the apostle's words aright. Whether any *had died* or not, the passage is intelligible. Two clauses are contrasted, viz. *we which are alive*, ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες (verses 15 and 17), and *they that sleep*, κεκοιμημένοι, or, as Lachmann reads, κοιμώμενοι. The first is hypothetical, as the appended words, *and remain unto the coming of the Lord*, clearly shew. Hence the second must be hypothetical. *They that sleep* mean *all who die until the coming of Christ.* The Thessalonians were in trouble and anxiety. They did not know whether they should live to see the coming of the Lord, in consequence of the sufferings they had to endure. They thought that such as died *before* the coming of Christ should not have an immediate part in His kingdom, but that the living should be before them. The living at the time of His advent should reign with Him immediately, while the dead would be obliged to wait till the general resurrection. Hence arose their sorrow. The near prospect of the death of beloved friends might have caused this uneasy state of mind, as well as their actual death, though the latter is most probably implied. In any case, it is easy to perceive that the passage affords no ground for the hypothesis of a later date.

1 Thess. v. 12. "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you," etc.

From this passage it appears that elders had been appointed in the church. Such office-bearers, according to Schrader, were not appointed immediately after the founding of a church, but at a later period, because they were not to be *novices* (νεοφύτοι, 1 Tim. iii. 6). During the apostle's three weeks' stay, the converts could not be other than νεοφύτοι; and therefore no presiding elders

could be selected from among them. The appointment of them was therefore made during a second visit of the apostle, when time shewed who were fit for the office.

This argument is of no weight because the appointment of elders must have depended on various circumstances. The rapid development of the Christian life, the speedy advancement in knowledge, and the state of the members before conversion, must have influenced the time of election. There is no doubt that Paul provided for the institute of elders in every newly formed church; but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to shew that he was always present at the election of such officers—or that none were chosen till a considerable time had elapsed since the church's origin. They were not to be *novices*—a term which refers to the amount of knowledge and practical ability possessed, rather than the mere length of time after conversion. In any case it is apparent, that the rule of not having new converts for elders was not invariably acted on. Paul himself departed from it. And then the church at Thessalonica may have obtained office-bearers who were not recent converts from heathenism, such as Jason, in whose house Paul lodged. Besides, more than three weeks must be taken into account as the length of the apostle's visit. We have about *half a year* of interval.

2 Thess. iii. 1, 2. "Finally brethren pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you: and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith."

The second epistle was written *very soon after* the first, not *before* it, as Grotius imagined; so that if this passage prove a later composition of the second epistle than that which is usual, it must also affect the date of the first. "The unreasonable and wicked men," it is thought, must be looked for in *Judea*, according to the parallel passage in the epistle to the Romans, xv. 31. Hence the composition of the epistle belongs to a time when the apostle was going up to Jerusalem, either at Acts xviii. 18 or xx. 3. If, however, *the unreasonable and wicked men* mean the Jews, who were Paul's persevering enemies, do we not learn from the epistles that they opposed him not only in Judea but in other lands? They were not confined to Palestine. There were Jews

in most of the places to which he went on his missionary tours.

2 Thess. iii. 17. "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write."

From these words it has been inferred by Schrader and Koehler, that Paul must have written several other epistles before the second to the Thessalonians, else he could not say that he was accustomed to subscribe every one of his letters in token of its authenticity, as he now does. But if the Thessalonian epistles preceded all others he had subscribed none. This mode of reasoning is invalid. He does not say that the salutation with his own hand *had been the token in every former epistle.* In that case Schrader's argument would be of force. He simply states, that the salutation is added as a mark of his handwriting. He had begun to add that mark of his handwriting to all his epistles. He had resolved to proceed in every epistle he should address to the Thessalonians in that manner. But it does not follow that he adhered to the resolution in altered circumstances. Other passages to which Schrader and Koehler refer in support of a later date than the common one need not be adduced, because they are even weaker than the preceding. Thus the former brings forward 1 Thess. i. 6-10, 2 Thess. ii. 2, etc.; while the latter lays great stress on 1 Thess. ii. 14-16, as if it alluded to the persecution of the Christians in Palestine by the Jews after the breaking out of the Jewish war!

Not one of the considerations adduced by Benson, Michaelis,[g] Böttger,[h] Schrader,[i] Koehler,[k] Wurm,[l] nor all together, appears sufficient to justify a more recent date than the former part of Paul's first visit to Corinth, at which time he had only been once at Thessalonica (Acts xviii. 1, 2, etc.). They do not support Michaelis and Benson, who assign the composition *to the latter*

[g] Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 24.

[h] Beiträge zur Historisch Kritischen Einleit. in d. Paulin. Briefe, Dritte Abtheilung, pp. 18-23.

[i] Der Apostel Paulus, i. p. 90, et seq.; 161, et seq.

[k] Versuch ueber die Abfassungszeit der Epist. Schriften, u. s. w. pp. 65-74, p. 190, et seq.; p. 112, et seq.; p. 120, et seq.

[l] In the Tübingen Zeitschrift for 1833, Heft. i. p. 78.

part of the apostle's year and a half sojourn at Corinth, after he had made several excursions from the city;[m] nor Böttger, who thinks the letter was written somewhere in Achaia, the apostle having been at Athens once more in the interval, and having sent Timothy thence to Thessalonica (Acts xviii. 11, 12);[n] nor Wurm, who dates it during a sojourn at Athens on a journey made from Antioch (Acts xviii. 22) to Macedonia and Greece;[o] nor Schrader, who conjectures that the epistles were written at Athens about the time implied in Acts xx. 2;[p] nor Koehler, who brings it down to the time of the Jewish war, A. D. 66, approving of the subscription, as the place where it was written;[q] nor Whiston, who, like Koehler, contends that it was written but a short time before Paul's death. All that is required for the true date is to assume that Timothy joined the apostle at Athens, was sent thence to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 1), and rejoined Paul in Corinth (Acts xviii. 16).

It is wholly a work of supererogation to argue against the *subscription* which represents the epistle as written from Athens on the assumption of its being composed there during Paul's *first* visit. Modern writers who incline to agree with the subscription, agree with it on the condition that Paul made a *second* visit to Athens, during which he wrote the letter. Whether the person who first appended Athens believed in a second visit to the city, and meant to say that the epistle was composed during *it*, not the first, it is now impossible to say. In any case, it is ridiculous to propound formal arguments against the subscription till this point be settled; and till it be also discovered that a modern author has fixed on the first visit to Athens; for the arguments which have been employed in opposition to the sub-

[m] See Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 58, and Bertholdt's Einleitung, vol. vi. pp. 3475, 3476.

[n] See Wieseler's Chronologie, p. 247.

[o] See Schneckenburger, in the Studien of the Würtemberg Geistlichkeit (Clergy), vii. 1.

[p] See Schneckenburger's Beiträge, xv. p. 165, et seq., and Schott's Prolegomena to his Commentary on the Thessalonian Epistles.

[q] See Schott's Prolegomena, p. 21, et seq., and Wieseler's Chronologie, p. 242, et seq.

scription are for the most part of no avail against the date of Paul's *alleged second* visit to Athens. In *ancient* times indeed, we know that Theodoret regarded the epistle as written at Athens during the visit described in the Acts; and Euthalius also dates it from Athens, probably meaning the same visit; but the moderns generally assume another visit to Athens when they wish to bring down the composition to a later date than the first portion of the year and a half stay at Corinth.

On the whole, it has been the prevailing opinion both in ancient and modern times, that the first epistle to the Thessalonians was the first of all the Pauline letters. Nor is there any good ground for departing from it.

III. *Immediate occasion and object of the epistle.*

These have been already anticipated. They are contained by implication in the preceding remarks. The account of the church brought by Timothy gave rise to the epistle. The apostle learned from the messenger that the members had remained steadfast in the faith, though exposed to persecution; and that their zeal and love had been an example to many. But other circumstances were less pleasing, such as remaining immorality, enthusiastic expectation of Christ's immediate coming, leading to indolence and neglect of their worldly calling, undue depreciation of prophesyings. Hence their spiritual parent thought it needful to address a letter to the Thessalonians suited to their particular state. The *object* he had in view was to encourage and admonish: to encourage the believers to continue steadfast in the faith, and to admonish them concerning things they ought to abandon. He confirms and comforts them; but at the same time enjoins them to act differently in some respects, to be holy, diligent, and humble, walking worthy of their high calling.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that the apostle's design in writing this epistle has been greatly misunderstood by Macknight,[r] when he says that it was to furnish the Thessalonians with a formal proof of the divine original of the gospel and a refutation of the objections raised against it and its preachers by the learned Greeks and philosophers.

[r] On the Epistles. Preface to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, § 2.

IV. *Authenticity.*

It will be more convenient to reserve a consideration of the authenticity till the second epistle to the Thessalonians comes before us, when *both* will be treated together.

V. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into two parts, viz. chapters I.—III. and IV. V., *the first* of which contains the outpourings of the apostle's heart to the believers at Thessalonica respecting their state, their deportment, his own reception among them, his affectionate solicitude for them, and the joy he had experienced from the good report he had received. *The second* contains various admonitions and exhortations touching their moral condition, administers comfort concerning the fate of deceased friends at the coming of Christ, warns them to be always ready for that solemn event, and concludes with practical counsels of a general character.

I. Chapters i.—iii. This part may be subdivided into three paragraphs.

(*a*) i. 1-10. After an introductory salutation, the writer mentions his continued thanksgiving to God for the faith, love, and hope of the Christians at Thessalonica. He speaks with commendation of their ready reception of the gospel, though they were in circumstances of great trial and affliction, and of the honour they had in sending forth the gospel's sound into the neighbouring countries. They forsook their idolatry and their vices so cheerfully as to be an example to others.

(*b*) ii. 1-16. He reminds them of his first appearance among them, that he had been solicitous solely for the good of their souls, supporting himself from the purest motives by the toil of his hands and being burdensome to none; so that his conduct among them had been characterised by kindness, benevolence, and disinterested affection. He also reminds them of the counsels he had addressed to them respecting holiness. After this he again praises God for their willing reception of the gospel, and their steadfastness in enduring all the persecutions which had come upon them, after the example of the churches in Judea.

(*c*) ii. 17—iii. 13. The apostle expresses his longing to see them again, remarking that he had attempted several times to return to them, but had been prevented. In the meanwhile he had sent Timothy to them from Athens, to establish and comfort them. By this faithful attendant he had received a pleasing account of their state, which was an unspeakable comfort to him amid all the discouragements he met with; and therefore he thanks God, beseeching Him to increase their faith and love still more.

II. This part may be also subdivided into three paragraphs.

(*d*) iv. 1-12. Here Paul admonishes the Thessalonians respecting purity of conduct, exhorts them to brotherly love, and to a quiet, orderly pursuit of their daily avocations.

(*e*) iv. 13—v. 11. He now comes to the question of eschatology, and instructs them respecting the resurrection of the dead at Christ's reappearance. Here he shews, that the deceased should not be deprived of the benefits of Messiah's glorious reign, but be favoured with their Lord's immediate presence *at the same time* and *along with* the living. As to the time of Christ's coming, he remarks that it will be sudden, unexpected, so that they should always be prepared and watching. They must be awake and sober as children of the day, and not be found asleep at the time of that great event.

(*f*) v. 12-28. He recommends them to respect such as presided over and admonished them, and to be at peace among themselves; to warn the disorderly, to comfort the feeble in faith, to be patient towards all; to return nothing but good for evil; to be always contented and happy in spirit; to be frequent in prayer and praise; not to repress the gifts of the spirit which some of them had received, nor to despise prophesyings as the offspring of enthusiasm, but to prove all things in the inspirations of the prophets, and retain only that which was good. They were to abstain from all sin, and to practise universal righteousness; to which he appropriately subjoins the prayer that God would sanctify them wholly, body, soul, and spirit. He then requests their prayers, sends his salutations, and solemnly adjures them to read the epistle publicly, after which he concludes with the usual benediction.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

In treating of this epistle we shall consider—

I. Its Occasion, Object, and Date.
II. Its Contents.
III. Authenticity and Genuineness.

I. *Occasion, object, and date.*

The circumstances of the apostle and of the Thessalonian believers were substantially the same as when the first epistle was written. The writer expresses his satisfaction with the state of the church as he had done before (comp. i. 3, etc. with 1 Thess. i. 3; ii. 14; iii. 6). He speaks of persecutions from the Jews, which they had endured with steadfast patience. He instructs them respecting the coming of Christ. Many had continued to neglect their ordinary occupations, officiously intermeddling in the business of their neighbours, from undue excitement of mind relative to the event of Christ's second advent.

But amid this general agreement, some difference may be discerned, else the apostle would not have written again. He boasts in this epistle of their spiritual advancement. Their faith had grown exceedingly. Their mutual love had abounded (i. 3). They were enduring present persecutions patiently, a fact shewing that the enmity of the Jews against them had broken out afresh (i. 4-7). The nuisance of idleness, the neglect of their affairs, seem to have increased. Their state of mind was somewhat different now in regard to the second coming. Before, they had been anxious from the idea that many among them might not live to see it; but now, they were greatly alarmed and troubled, believing that it was just at hand. The apostle must therefore have received fresh intelligence from Thessalonica; and the occasion of the letter must be sought in what he had thus learned. It is needless to inquire *how* he had received this farther account of the state of the church at Thessalonica,

whether by a letter, or by the bearer or bearers of the first epistle.

The leading *object* was to instruct the believers respecting the Lord's coming, and so to rectify a serious error into which they had fallen. Their views greatly needed to be set right in this important matter; while other admonitions were called for by irregularities which still continued among them—irregularities connected with their expectation of the very near approach of the Lord to judgment. The apostle, in short, meant to instruct, console, and admonish. We derive the main purpose of the writer from chapter ii. 1-12, where he states that the advent was not so near as many alleged or supposed, to the injury of the church and the rendering of the converts fearful and miserable in mind; but that Antichrist must previously make his appearance, and exert a mighty influence in the world. He cautions them against being shaken or troubled in spirit either by prophecies, or pretended instruction, or letter purporting to proceed from him. They were not to believe that the day of Christ was just at hand. Hence it has been inferred from ii. 2, "That ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us," etc., that persons belonging to the church professed to have received revelations intimating that the day of the Lord was very near (*διὰ πνεύματος*); that they or others alleged that certain expressions of the apostle which he made use of when at Thessalonica confirmed this opinion (*διὰ λόγου*); and that the Thessalonians had received a letter pretending to have been written by Paul, announcing that the event was at hand. The expression *ὡς δι' ἡμῶν* refers not only to *δι' ἐπιστολῆς* immediately preceding, but also to *διὰ λόγου*. An epistle was forged in the apostle's name; and expressions he had uttered were distorted, for the purpose of fostering the idea of the Messiah's speedy advent to judgment. The effects of this conduct were most prejudicial to the spiritual interests of the believers at Thessalonica. The letter was probably written by one of themselves; for the author appears to have been well acquainted with their prevailing state of mind, their expectations, fears, and hopes. There is nothing to indicate the real motive of him who forged it. It is possible, that it may

have been done for mere party purposes; though the condition of the church, as far as it is known to us, does not sanction the probability of this object. Wanton conjecture may have given birth to it. Or, a desire to produce amendment in the lives of some may have led to its composition. It cannot be ascertained with certainty, whether the writer's intention was good or evil. The intention was *probably* to quiet their minds regarding the delay of the second coming. But from the manner in which the intention was carried out, it had the very opposite effect.[a] An enthusiastic tendency of a contrary nature was produced. False apprehensions were created. Anxiety and consternation arose. Harassing fear was excited, especially in such as were conscious of their sins. Hence the apostle thought it necessary to set them right as to the nearness of the day of Christ. This was his *main* object.

Many commentators suppose Paul's remarks in the first epistle, on the subject of Christ's second coming (1 Thess. iv. 15-17) to have originated the erroneous idea entertained in the church. The Thessalonians *misinterpreted* his language. They understood him to teach that the second coming of Christ was at hand. They misapplied his comparison of a thief in the night, supposing that it intimated a belief in the *nearness* of the event; whereas it meant no more than *the suddenness* and *unexpectedness* of it. Thus it is thought that the *first epistle alone* was the cause of their misapprehensions and fears. But the language of ii. 2 *fairly interpreted* implies, that one or more fictitious letters had been written, by means of which the brethren at Thessalonica had been terrified. The state of consternation into which they were thrown did not arise so much (probably not at all *directly*) from a misunderstanding of the apostle's written words, as from the forged letter. It is not improbable, however, that the forger of the letter to which Paul alludes, had taken advantage of the passage in the first epistle, viz. iv. 15-17, interpreting it in such a manner as to favour the view propounded in the letter. He employed it to subserve his purpose, as he might easily do with much plausibility. Certain expressions too which Paul had made

[a] See Hemsen, Der Apostel Paulus, p. 171.

use of when among the Thessalonians, had been wrested and misapplied for the same purpose. Thus the passage in the second epistle relates *indirectly* to the passage in the first.

If these observations be correct, they will furnish an answer to Paley's four arguments in defence of that explanation of 2 Thess. ii. 2, which excludes all allusion to one or more forged letters. With many other interpreters, he thinks that it relates entirely to 1 Thess. iv. 15-17 and v. 4, being intended to rectify the misconception put upon his words. Without canvassing minutely his defence of the explanation offered, we remark, that the full sense of the terms μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, is not reached by a reference to 1 Thess. iv. 15-17 *alone*. The ὡς δι' ἡμῶν in particular, which can only mean *as* or *purporting to proceed from* us, implies *more* than the first letter. All that is necessary to do, in order to attain to the full sense of the passage, is to assume, that in the forged letter certain expressions in Paul's authentic epistle were employed for the purpose of supporting the writer's own views, or the views at least which he wished to inculcate. He distorted expressions which the apostle had uttered during his ministry at Thessalonica, and *put a false construction on a passage in the first epistle*, which Paul is now careful to correct.[b]

The true date of writing, as well as the place, is easily perceived from the preceding remarks. The epistle was written at Corinth, not very long after the first epistle. According to Benson a few months intervened. Eichhorn[c] thinks that there was even a year's interval. De Wette and Hemsen are of the same opinion. It would be very difficult to prove that both were written in the same year, as Bertholdt[d] asserts. Timothy and Silas were still with Paul (i. 1) as before; but they were deprived of his society when he left Corinth (Acts xviii. 18). The epistle should be dated towards the end of his stay at Corinth, A. D. 53 or 54. This is confirmed by the words in chap. iii. 2, which appear to refer to the insurrection raised by the Jews against him, described in Acts xviii. 12, etc. Or, if they do not agree

[b] See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 3, on the verse.

[c] Einleit. vol. iii. pp. 69, 57. [d] Einleit. vol. vi. p. 3480.

with the supposition that the insurrection was already past, they imply at least thus much, that he saw the storm approaching. It is certain that *the unreasonable* and *wicked men* here spoken of were not erroneous teachers—Judaising christians—as Calvin, Bertholdt and others suppose, but *unbelieving Jews*.

Since the date of the composition of the first epistle determines that of the second, those who depart from the general opinion respecting the time and place of writing the one, depart from it respecting the other. It is not worth while to attend to such aberrations. Thus Euthalius, Oecumenius, and the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae* in Athanasius's works, have *Rome* as the place of writing. The Peshito or old Syriac version has *Laodicea* in Pisidia. John Damascenus has *Athens*. The subscriptions in MSS. vary, ex. gr. *ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας τῆς Πισιδίας, missa per Titum et Onesimum*. Schrader places it at Athens, A. D. 58.[e] Most ably and minutely has he been refuted by Schneckenburger.[f] Koehler[g] again brings it down to A. D. 68, because he explains *κατέχων ἄρτι, he who now letteth*, of Galba, an interpretation which very few will adopt. Schott[h] has needlessly entered into a refutation of this novelty-seeking writer.

II. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into three parts, i. 3-12; ii. 1-17; iii. 1-18.

I. Chap. i. 3-12. After an introduction similar to that in the first epistle, the writer thanks God for the increase of the Thessalonian believers in faith and love, and their steadfastness in the midst of persecution. Hence he had often spoken of them with pleasure, and assures them that though now persecuted, they should not always be so, but should be recompensed at the coming of Christ to judgment; while their enemies should be overthrown. And it was his continual prayer to God, that they might persevere and become complete in the Christian cha-

[e] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. i. p. 161, et seq.
[f] Beiträge, u. s. w. xvi. p. 165, et seq.
[g] Versuch ueber die Abfassungszeit, u. s. w. p. 123.
[h] Commentarius, Prolegomena, p. 21, et seq.

racter, so that the name of the Lord might be glorified in them.

II. Chap. ii. 1-17. He warns them against the expectation which had been awakened in their minds that the day of the Lord was just at hand. They had been needlessly shaken and troubled in mind on this point. In correcting their mistake he shews them, that their fears were groundless. The man of sin and son of perdition was first to appear and sit in the temple of God. The mystery of iniquity had indeed begun to operate even then, but there was something to restrain it. Its full development was hindered. When the obstructing influence should be removed, the man of sin would be revealed in all his ungodliness, and be afterwards destroyed in an exemplary and signal manner by the Lord. But the apostle thanks God that the Thessalonian converts had been chosen to salvation; and admonishes them to stand fast in the instructions he had *given them*, praying that they might be *enabled* to do so by the divine assistance.

III. Chap. iii. 1-18. In hastening to the conclusion of the epistle, he requests the Christians at Thessalonica to pray for him that he might be successful in spreading Christianity throughout the world, and that he might be preserved from the power and malice of the wicked Jews. He again expresses his confidence in them, and good wishes on their behalf. A command is then annexed respecting certain disorderly, idle Christians at Thessalonica, that the true believers should withdraw from their society. He puts them in mind of his own example, stating that he had worked with his hands for a subsistence among them, although he had power to require support. Should these persons not amend their conduct he advises the other Christians to discountenance them, and use the most likely methods to bring them to repentance. The epistle concludes with a salutation written with his own hand, which might serve as a token to distinguish his authentic letters from such forgeries as that referred to in the second chapter.

III. *Authenticity and genuineness* of both epistles.

The allusions to the epistles, in the writings of the apostolic fathers, are indistinct and obscure. Such allusions, however, are

given without hesitation by Lardner, and even by Kirchhofer. They are the following. In the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians we read: *Οφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ*[i] (1 Thess. v. 18). "We ought in all things to give thanks to him." *Σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*[k] (1 Thess. v. 23). "Let our whole body therefore be saved in Christ Jesus."

In the epistles of Ignatius we find: *Προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτοις*[l] (1 Thess. v. 17). "Devote yourself to unceasing prayers." *Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε*[m] (1 Thess. v. 17). "Pray also for other men without ceasing."

Polycarp writes: *Ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων*[n] (1 Thess. v. 17). "Making intercession without ceasing for all." *Ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας*[o] (1 Thess. v. 22). "Abstaining from all iniquity." "Sobrii ergo estote et vos in hoc; et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut possibilia membra et errantia eos revocate, ut omnium vestrum corpus salvetis"[p] (2 Thess. iii. 15). "Be ye also moderate in this, and do not count such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and erring members."

In the following passage, Justin Martyr appears to refer to the second epistle: *Ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον ἔξαλλα λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄνομα τολμήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Χριστιανούς, κ. τ. λ.*[q] (2 Thess. ii. 3). "When also the man of apostasy, who speaking great things against the Most High, shall dare to commit lawless deeds against us Christians on the earth," etc.

The authenticity of the epistles is clearly and unequivocally attested by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; and the early lists of the *ὁμολογούμενα*, or *books universally acknowledged*, contained them. Thus Irenaeus writes: "Et propter hoc apostolus seipsum exponens, explanavit perfectum et spiritualem salutis hominem, in primâ epistolâ ad Thessalonicenses dicens sic: 'Deus autem pacis sanctificet vos perfectos, et integer vester spiritus, et anima, et corpus sine querelâ in adventum Domini

[i] Ep. 1 ad Corinth, c. 38. [k] Ibid. [l] Ad Polycarp, 1.
[m] Ad Ephes. c. 10. [n] Ad Philipp. c. 4. [o] Ibid. c. 2.
[p] Ibid. c. 11. [q] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 836.

Jesu Christi servetur'"[r] (1 Thess. v. 23). "And on this account the apostle explaining his own meaning, has set forth the perfect and spiritual man of salvation, speaking thus in the first epistle to the Thessalonians: 'And may the God of peace sanctify you wholly, and your entire spirit, soul, and body, be kept without complaint till the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ.'"

"Et iterum in secundâ ad Thessalonicenses, de antichristo dicens; 'Et tunc revelabitur iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet Spiritu oris sui, et destruet praesentia adventus sui illum, cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanae, in omni virtute et signis, et portentis mendacii'"[s] (2 Thess. ii. 8). "And again in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, speaking of antichrist: 'And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus Christ shall slay with the breath of his mouth and destroy with the presence of his coming; even him whose coming is according to the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders.'"

Clement of Alexandria says: *Τοῦτό τοι σαφέστατα ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὑπεσημήνατο, εἰπών· δυνάμενοι ἐν βαρεῖ εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν τροφὸς θάλπῃ τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα*[t] (1 Thess. ii. 7). "This the blessed Paul plainly signified, saying: 'When we might have been burdensome as apostles of Christ, we were gentle among you even as a nurse cherisheth her children.'"

Οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἡ γνῶσις· προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων· οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις[u] (2 Thess. iii. 2). "And the apostle says, 'There is not in every man that knowledge. But pray ye that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for all men have not faith.'"

Tertullian writes: "Et ideo majestas Spiritus sancti perspicax ejusmodi sensuum et in ipsa ad Thessalonicenses epistola suggerit: 'De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessitas scribendi vobis. Ipsi enim certissime scitis, quod Dies Domini, quasi fur nocte, ita adveniet,'" etc.[x] (1 Thess. v. 1, etc.).

[r] Adv. Haeres. v. 6, 1.
[s] Ibid. iii. 7, 2.
[t] Paedagog. i. p. 88 (Sylburg).
[u] Stromata, v. p. 554.
[x] De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 24.

"And therefore the majesty of the Holy Spirit which discerns such senses, suggests in the epistle to the Thessalonians itself: 'But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night,'" etc.

"Et in secunda, pleniore sollicitudine ad eosdem: 'Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et congregationem nostram ad illum, ne cito commoveamini animo, neque turbemini,'" etc.[y] (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2). "And in the second epistle to the same persons he writes with greater solicitude: 'But I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, nor be troubled,'" etc.

But notwithstanding the external proofs of the epistles' authenticity, objections resting on internal grounds have been made against them. When modern criticism began to cast off all wholesome restraint, doubts began to be thrown out against writings which had escaped attack. Schmidt[z] led the way in the present case.[a] The epistles are entirely rejected by Baur[b] and his school. Schrader[c] is nearly as sceptical as the Tübingen professor. Kern[d] argued against the authenticity of the second. We shall merely *glance* at adverse considerations which deserve no lengthened notice.

Schmidt called attention to the words in 2 Thess. iii. 17 as throwing suspicion on *the first* epistle, because the latter wants that mark of authenticity. But the mode of sending it was of itself sufficient attestation of its origin. The bearer or bearers would be a guarantee for its authenticity. What gave rise to the token in question seems to have been the letter forged in Paul's name. This determined him in future to adopt a method of assuring his readers of the authenticity of his letters at their termination, when it was judged needful to do so. Kern again argues, that

[y] De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 24.

[z] Einleitung in das N. T. 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 256, et seq.; and Bibliothek für Kritik, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 380, et seq.

[a] See Bertholdt's Refutation, Einleit. vol. vi. § 748, p. 3484, et seq.

[b] Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, p. 480, et seq.

[c] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. v.

[d] In the Tübinger Zeitschrift for 1839, Heft. 2.

Paul could not write here ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ. In answer to this it is sufficient to state, that no forger could have written the words, because he must have seen that but two of Paul's letters, the first to the Corinthians and that to the Colossians, have the same token. We have no doubt that Paul himself wrote the words in question.

Baur[e] objects to the first epistle on the following grounds:—

(*a*) The greater part of its contents is nothing but a very extended, detailed explanation of the historical fact that the Thessalonians had been converted by Paul—an explanation which could only remind the Thessalonians of what they already knew, and which we learn sufficiently from the Acts of the Apostles. Whether the writer of the epistle derived his materials immediately from the Acts or from another source, he has interspersed particulars moulded after other Pauline epistles, especially those to the Corinthians. They bear a great resemblance at least to passages in the latter.

This argument is extremely feeble. Let us take the passage in iii. 1, etc.: "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear we thought it good to be left at Athens alone; and sent Timotheus our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith." On comparing this with the history in the Acts, we find a fact omitted in the latter, viz. that Timothy came up to the apostle at Athens. Hence this fact mentioned or implied in the epistle could not have been derived from the Acts. But when known, it exactly suits the circumstances there recorded. It supplies an omission.

Besides, there are causes of apparent discrepancy between the epistles and the Acts, which shew that the author of the former was not dependent on the latter for his materials. These create *so much* difficulty as to set aside the idea of transcription from the history, though in themselves they are not formidable. Compare, for example, ii. 9, 10 with Acts xvii. 1-10; and i. 9 with xvii. 4.

The similarity of certain expressions in the first epistle to the

[e] Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, p. 481, et seq.

Thessalonians to others in the Corinthian epistles is far from proving that the former were taken from the latter by a post-apostolic author. There might be coincidences *of a certain character* sufficient to make this supposition probable; but, in the case before us, they do not present such an aspect. There is no reason for thinking that they arose from studied design; or that the one set of phrases was moulded and shaped after the other.

(*b*) The passage ii. 14-16 is unpauline.[f] How far-fetched is the comparison of these oppressions which affected *the Jews* as well as the heathen with the persecutions endured by the Christians in Judea? How inapposite is it for the apostle to institute this comparison, who never on any other occasion holds forth the Jewish christians as an example to his Gentile converts, and who could not have spoken of those persecutions in Judea without reminding them of himself as the chief sharer in the only sufferings which were connected with his present subject? Where has the apostle brought his sufferings for the gospel's sake into such a connexion with the evil doings of the Jews to Jesus and the prophets, as here? How unlike his mode of thought is the universal external polemic tone against the Jews which could find no other language to express itself in than the well-known accusation brought against the Jews by the heathen, *odium humani generis, hatred of mankind;* for the Jews are styled in the fifteenth verse πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίοι, *contrary to all men?* On account of such phenomena, Baur infers at once that the history in the Acts was the only source of the narrative in the epistle.

Besides, the expression ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος is most naturally referred to the destruction of Jerusalem already inflicted on the Jews as a judicial punishment.

We have adduced these considerations nearly in the critic's words, not because of their intrinsic importance or formidable character, but as a specimen of the argumentation by which some ingenious, novelty-seeking men succeed in deceiving *themselves*, and if possible in deluding *others*. The argument, if indeed it should be dignified with the name, cannot stand the test of logic for a moment. It is not by this sort of weapons that

[f] Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, p. 482.

the authenticity of the epistles to the Thessalonians, nor of any part of the New Testament can be shaken. De Wette truly says, that such objections arise from *subjective views* capable of being confronted with *other subjective views* of equal weight.

To propound such questions as these, Where has the apostle said so elsewhere? is absolutely futile. Shall we tie him down in all cases to the same ideas and modes of expression? It were absurd to do so. What is there unsuitable or far-fetched in telling the Thessalonians that they had become imitators of the steadfastness in enduring sufferings exhibited by the Christians in Judea, who were persecuted by their own countrymen, the Jews, as the Thessalonians were by the heathens, *their* countrymen? Besides, the apostle *does* speak of himself in connexion with the persecutions in Judea, for the words, "and have persecuted *us*," include himself. Well might Paul say of the Jews, that if they put the Lord Jesus to death as well as their own prophets, it was to be expected they should persecute *His apostles*. In calling the Jews *contrary to all men*, Baur misapprehends or distorts the exact meaning of the words, which allude particularly to their contracted notions of salvation. They did not think it was intended for any other people than themselves. Hence they strove against what would be for the welfare of all men, by opposing the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles. Not that they absolutely hated the human race; but under the influence of strong prejudices and ignorance they did what was tantamount to such detestation of their fellow-creatures. The apostle had abundant reason for speaking plainly of the Jews who opposed him; and it was appropriate to mention their opposition to the Thessalonians, because the latter had suffered and were still suffering from the same parties, who instigated the ignorant heathen against the believers at Thessalonica.

As to the words, "The wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" being most naturally understood of Jerusalem's overthrow, there is much cause for doubting the interpretation. In the political state of the Jews at that time, the apostle foresaw their speedy and total ruin. Their destruction had commenced, and would soon be completed. The true meaning of the original terms is: "The wrath of God has come upon them to the making

an end of them;" it has begun to be poured out on the nation, and will not cease till it issue in their complete overthrow. *Εἰς τέλος* should be joined to the verb *ἔφθασε*, and is badly rendered in our English version.

(*c*) Certain passages do not agree with the early composition of the letter as generally assumed, such as i. 7, etc.; ii. 10; iv. 9, 11, 12.

Though this were true, the authenticity of the epistle would not be affected by it. Baur at least has not attempted to carry out the argument by shewing that its legitimate tendency is to shake the Pauline authorship. In truth it has no *proper* or *necessary* bearing on the point. It is irrelevant. Yet the passages in question do not *really* militate against the common date. Any one looking at them with unprejudiced eye will readily perceive that they agree with it.

(*d*) Such diving into the unrevealed future, as far as it concerns Christ's coming, both in the first and second epistle, is unpauline. Baur proceeds to compare the epistles with the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and tries to show how very different the mode of treating things future is in the latter. He even asserts that there is a contradiction between 1 Cor. xv. 52 and 2 Thess. ii. 2.[g]

All this reasoning is futile and fallacious. In writing to different churches, under different circumstances and with different objects in view, it is right and natural that the same subject should be discussed in a different way, as long as there is *a substantial agreement* in sentiment. If indeed a charge of *contradictoriness* could be justified, the case would be altered. *Then* the credit of the apostolic writer would be damaged. Such a charge is *asserted* in the present instance. And it is based on the words of 1 Cor. xv. 52, compared with 2 Thess. ii. 2. "*We*," says the apostle, "shall be changed"—"that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand," etc. The expression *we* means such Christians as shall then be alive. All believers then living are grouped together. It must be admitted

[g] Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, p. 485, et seq.

indeed, that this use of ἡμεῖς is not a usual one—a use of it *excluding* the writer himself. But it is not without a parallel, as will be shewn immediately. At present the right meaning of *we* in the expression "*we* shall be changed," is *asserted*, but it will be justified hereafter by a particular examination of *the same pronoun* in a similar form of expression.

As to the apocalyptic subject introduced by the apostle into the Thessalonian epistles, it is certainly new in all its essential features. He merely touches on it elsewhere. But it is partly found in the Old Testament. The prophecies of Daniel contain the same ideas. And then the *external* aspect in which genuine Christianity is here presented need not prove a stumbling-block to any one. The subjective ideas of Paul regarding faith in Jesus and the progress of his kingdom on earth, are always connected with *the outward* in tendency or in actual manifestation. The kingdom of God is *an external* as well as *an internal* thing It is true that the apostle of the Gentiles dwells much more on the inward existence and power of this kingdom, because it begins in the heart. He directs the chief attention of his readers in the epistles to the establishment of Christian principle in the soul. With true philosophical spirit he shews where it first takes hold of a man—how it affects his motives, his thoughts, his whole internal consciousness. But although he dwells on *the subjective* aspect, *the objective* is always implied. The kingdom of Messiah appears outwardly among men. Like the Old Testament theocracy it is external, though it possesses a spiritual character eminently its own. But instead of pursuing this subject farther and entering into the genius of the new economy as compared with the old, about which Baur seems to have very erroneous ideas, we shall dismiss the objection under consideration with Paley's pertinent observations: "It may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing from that which is naturally considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present epistle, however [the second], furnishes a passage hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can be accounted for only by the supposition of the epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for

with great ease." After quoting ii. 3-8, he continues: "Now the observation I have to offer is founded upon this, that the passage expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon the same subject: 'Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, *I told you these things? And now ye know* what withholdeth.' If such conversation actually passed; if, whilst 'he was yet with them he *told* them those things,' then it follows that the epistle is authentic. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what is said in the epistle might be understood by those who had been present to such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be perfectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if, in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained without knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons."[h]

These observations, though directly founded on a passage in the second epistle, and written with a view of proving its authenticity, we have quoted and applied to the defence of the first epistle, because the passage contains the development of ideas found in the latter, and because the authenticity of the second epistle implies and confirms that of the first. Both letters must be admitted or rejected together.

With regard to *the second* epistle, one passage in it, already referred to, has been the chief stumbling-block, viz. ii. 1-12. We have already seen that the sentiments here expressed do not

[h] Horae Paulinae, chap. x. No. 1.

contradict the words of 1 Cor. xv. 52. But they are said to disagree also with

(*a*) 1 Thess. iv. 15, because in the latter passage the apostle expected the coming of Christ. In the former, that event is declared to be considerably distant, or at least to be preceded by the man of sin. Hence it is inferred that the second epistle must be dated at a comparatively late period, when the event had been long expected in vain.

That the apostle really looked for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it, is by no means an uncommon opinion. The apostles, it is conceived, shared with the church at large in the expectation that Christ's final coming was to take place in their own day. The chief phrases on which this view of Paul's sentiments depends are, ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, "*we which are alive and remain*" (1 Thess. iv. 15, 17), and ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης καταλάβῃ, "ye are not in darkness that *that day* should *overtake you as a thief*" (1 Thess. v. 4). "Whatever other construction," says Paley, "these texts may *bear*, the idea they leave upon the mind of the reader is, that of the author of the epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it." In the first period of Paul's ministry, while he was yet glowing with youthful inspiration, he expected the speedy return of Christ; but afterwards he came to see that it was more distant than he had supposed in his sanguine anticipations. Accordingly, in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, the first which he wrote, or at least which has been preserved, his views may have been more contracted than they were subsequently. His ideas and knowledge of divine things were enlarged by reflection, by new revelations, and by the course of divine providence.

This is the manner in which some write and reason respecting Paul. But the interval of time between the first and second epistles is too short to render the hypothesis in any degree probable. Besides, a phrase exactly similar to that which is adduced to justify the apostle's belief in Christ's speedy return, in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, is also found in the first letter to the Corinthians, written a few years after the Thessalonian epistles (1 Cor. xv. 52). It cannot be rationally supposed that his belief

on this point was rectified between the composition of the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and that he *returned to it* at the time of writing to the Corinthians.

The different views of expositors on this point may be classed under four heads:—

1. Some take the words ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, κ. τ. λ. *hypothetically*, as if Paul had said, "The happiness of the dead who shall be raised will not be less than we should hope would fall to our lot if we continued to live till the coming of Christ." This is the explanation offered by Burgerhoudt.[i]

2. Paul speaks of a part of that generation when he uses the terms, ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, without including himself. So Chrysostom and John Damascenus.

3. The apostle speaks of himself as well as of other Christians then living. So Schott.

4. He does not at all refer to the Christians of that age, but to *posterity*. So Theodoret and Theophylact in ancient times; and in modern, Benson and Flatt.

Let us review these hypotheses.

1. This interpretation is inadmissible from the singular mode of expression it presupposes. There is no imaginable reason why Paul should have expressed his meaning so ambiguously in the present connexion.

2. The most obvious explanation of the words in question is that which refers them to some of the Christians then living. At the same time there is no reason for excluding the writer himself. On every rational principle of interpretation, the phrase, *we which are alive and remain*, if it allude at all to the Christians of that age, must include the person employing the phrase.

3. What then is to be said of this third view? Is there any difficulty in it? Schott answers, that there is none whatever.[j] The Saviour himself never declared at what time he should return, whether sooner or later; though some of his expressions are *capable of* an explanation implying the near approach of his

[i] Specimen Academ. de coetus Christianorum Thessalonicensis ortu fatisque, et prioris Pauli iis scriptae epistolae consilio atque argumento, p. 152, et seq.

[j] Commentarius, p. 130, et seq.

advent. Hence the apostle and most Christians of his time, who longed exceedingly for the Saviour's return, might affirm the possibility of its speedy arrival, even while he and some of his contemporaries were still living. He preferred to think of the event as not far distant; and speaks of it as a thing which might readily be near. Knowing, however, that Jesus had revealed nothing *definite* concerning the time when He should come again, Paul does not express any *fixed belief* or *sure expectation* of the nearness of His return. It was rather a vague impression which he fondly cherished, and which, as far as he knew, *might be* realised. Accordingly, the passages elsewhere affirming that the apostle and the majority of Christians then living should be raised up from the dead at the resurrection, do not contradict the words before us. These passages are such as 2 Cor. iv. 14, v. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 14; Philipp. i. 20, etc., iii. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 6, etc. Paul had no *certain knowledge* of the subject; and therefore we find different expressions in his different letters. But he knew it to be within the limits of *the possible* that he might live to see the Saviour's coming again, and his hope ardently sprang forward to the great event, dictating such language as, "*we which are alive and remain.*"

Such is an abstract of Schott's view and the considerations adduced in favour of it. It amounts to this,—that the time of Christ's second coming was not revealed to the apostle—that it formed no part of his inspiration—and, therefore, he might imagine the period to be near when it was far distant. Paul expresses himself differently at different times, because he had no positive information on the point. The ardent longings of his soul led him to speak of it as near, while in cooler moments he looked on it as more distant.

It must be conceded, that the apostles were ignorant of *the precise time* of Christ's final coming. They did not know the exact season of it. That seems to have been revealed to no mortal. The Father put it in His own power. It is laid up in the divine mind. But we may still be permitted to ask, Could the apostle intend, by the expressions, "*we which are alive and remain*," or by analogous phraseology in other places, to utter a vague expectation or longing desire of Christ's final coming, as

possibly taking place in his own day, when he distinctly disavows such an interpretation of his language as this supposition implies (2 Thess. ii. 2)? We cannot conceive of the apostle giving utterance to sanguine hopes or ardent feelings of expectation on a point about which he was ignorant; much less can we conceive of him as writing concerning it very differently at different times. If he really *does speak* so as to imply an expectation of the nearness of Christ's advent, the expectation must be viewed in the light of an *earnest, believing* expectation. It can not be resolved or dissipated into *a dubious longing*, which presupposes no definite idea of comparative nearness. *Distinct notions of a certain character* must be attributed to Paul. And these distinct ideas must have led him to refrain from contradicting himself in different letters; for what agreement is there between such words as, "we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord," and "He which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up *us* also by Jesus, and shall present us with you?" Is there not absolute disagreement? The apostle must have written in sober earnest what he wrote; and if this be allowed, he contradicts himself while saying at one time that he and some of his contemporaries should be alive at the coming of Christ, and at another, that God should raise him up from the dead. Both are plain statements, not couched in hypothetical language, nor modified by limiting clauses, nor inflated with enthusiastic longings. In both cases, the writer speaks in the language of sober earnestness. Hence we are constrained to reject this view of the passages under consideration. Paul being ignorant of the precise time would have abstained from the employment of contradictory expressions respecting it. Nor can we attach any rational meaning to his language at the commencement of the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, without maintaining that he there distinctly disavows that interpretation of his language in the first epistle which implies an expectation of Christ's coming in his day. Surely he is the best expounder of his own language.[k]

4. The only tenable view of the subject is that which *excludes*

[k] See Macknight, Preface to 2 Thessalonians, § 3.

the writer, and the early Christians generally, from the language ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, κ. τ. λ. The first personal pronoun is used in the way termed by rhetoricians ἀνακοίνωσις, *communicatio*, *communication*, the apostle transferring to himself what belongs chiefly, or *wholly*, to the readers, or to *persons represented by them*. Examples of the same trope may be found in Romans iii. 5, xiii. 11, etc.; 1 Cor. x. 8, 9; 2 Cor. vii. 1; Hebrews vi. 1-3; 1 Peter iv. 3. Schott indeed objects to this exegesis, affirming that the context in the present case, and in the passages just quoted, is very different. Had Paul intended to exclude himself from the persons who might perhaps *remain* on the earth till Christ's coming, the critic thinks he ought to have written verse 15, ὅτι οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλ. εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κ. οὐ μὴ φθάσονται ἡμᾶς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας; and verses 16, 17, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστησόμεθα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα οἱ ζῶντες οἱ, κ. τ. λ.[1] But we repeat, that the apostle is the best expositor of his own language, and that no interpretation of ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι can be admitted which is disavowed in 2 Thess. ii. 2. *We* may think that the words ought to have been so and so, had a certain sense been intended; but our opinion can weigh little against weighty, palpable considerations of an opposite nature.

In view of all the circumstances we must believe, that Paul, when he wrote ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, knew thus much, that the time of Christ's coming was more distant than to allow of himself or any of his contemporaries living to see it. This is plainly involved in 2 Thess. ii. 2; and no additional light appears to have broken in upon his mind in the very brief interval between the two epistles, else he would not have reverted to the original form of expression, or to one tantamount to it, in the first epistle to the Corinthians. Hence "*we which are alive and remain*," etc. can only mean "*such Christians as live and remain*," etc. Paul employs himself and the early Christians as the representatives of those succeeding Christians who should be alive at the Redeemer's second advent. Thus in Deuteron. xxx. 1, the generation addressed is the representative of a succeeding one;

[1] Commentarius, p. 131.

and in John vi. 32, a succeeding generation is employed to represent a past one.

After this explanation we return to the argument already given from Baur against the epistle. And here it is sufficient to observe, that there is no real contradiction between 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 and 1 Thess. iv. 15, because the language of the latter does not imply *the absolute nearness* of the event. It merely indicates *the relative nearness*. Besides, it was a forged letter which chiefly led the Thessalonians to expect the destruction of the wicked, during the generation then living, by the sudden appearance of Christ. *This* letter, rather than his own *which had been misinterpreted*, had created consternation in their minds. And, as Paley has well observed, the passage in the second letter to the Thessalonians expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians on the subject: "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, *I told you these things?*" Hence whatever obscurity there may be in the passage, it connects both epistles inseparably, and is a guarantee that the one does not clash with the other. No *forger* would have written 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, because it refers to *a former conversation*, without the knowledge of which it is difficult of explanation.

(*b*) Again; many passages in the second epistle, it is alleged, are a reproduction of others in the first. Peculiar references to circumstances and events of whose historical reality we are ignorant, are copied in the second letter. It contains *imitations* of the first. And then the mode of writing in many places is unpauline. So Schrader and Kern assert.

Nothing is more uncertain or fallacious than this sort of reasoning. It is so weak and invalid in the present case, that we do not think it at all needful to specify the passages which are said to be copied from the first epistle. The coincidences are not greater than many which exist between the epistles to the Romans and Galatians. They are not of that peculiar character which betrays a forger. It is idle to say that several expressions are *unpauline*, because they do not happen to be used in other epistles. It ought to have been shewn that they are *unworthy of* the apostle, or that there are good reasons for believing he was not their author, instead of demonstrating that they have not paral-

lels in other places. *That they are not elsewhere employed* is no ground for rejecting them as *unpauline.*[m]

(*c*) Kern has attacked the epistle because he thinks that the prophecy respecting Antichrist does not correspond with the point of view which a writer would take in the year 53 or 54; but with the standing point of one writing between 68 and 70, *i. e.* between Nero's overthrow and the destruction of Jerusalem. According to this critic, Antichrist means *Nero;* he that restrains, *ὁ κατέχων, Vespasian;* and the apostasy, *ἀποστασία*, the fall both of Jews and Christians. This explanation we do not admit; and therefore the argument based on it falls away. The untenable character of the interpretation proposed by Kern might be easily shewn. The political allusions he brings into the passage are quite foreign to it. At present it is sufficient to observe, that he has not *proved* the correctness or truth of his explanation. He has *assumed* it.

Other particulars mentioned by Schrader, Baur, and Kern against the authenticity of the second epistle need not be specified, since they are absolutely futile. No right-minded inquirer can attach to them the least weight or consequence. Even in Germany, they have failed to procure assent. Doubtless they will pass away with the publications in which they appeared, producing no effect on the settled belief of most Christians respecting the authenticity of the Thessalonian epistles. We know of nothing that can tend for a moment to shake our faith in the apostolic origin of these letters. It is impossible to prove that they are later forgeries. If Paul wrote any epistle which has come down to our day, he wrote those under consideration. They bear his image.[n]

[m] See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch, II. 3, p. 129.

[n] See Reiche, Authentiae posterioris ad Thessal. Epistolae Vindiciae; and Schott's Prolegomena, § 6.

END OF VOL. II.

ERRATA.

Page 16, Note, for *Scheckenburger* read *Schneckenburger*.
Page 18, line 15, for *Scheckenburger* read *Schneckenburger*.
Page 32, line 5, for *subjectively* read *subjectivity*.
Page 41, line 29, for *first* read *second*.
Page 136, line 29, for *to slender* read *too slender*.

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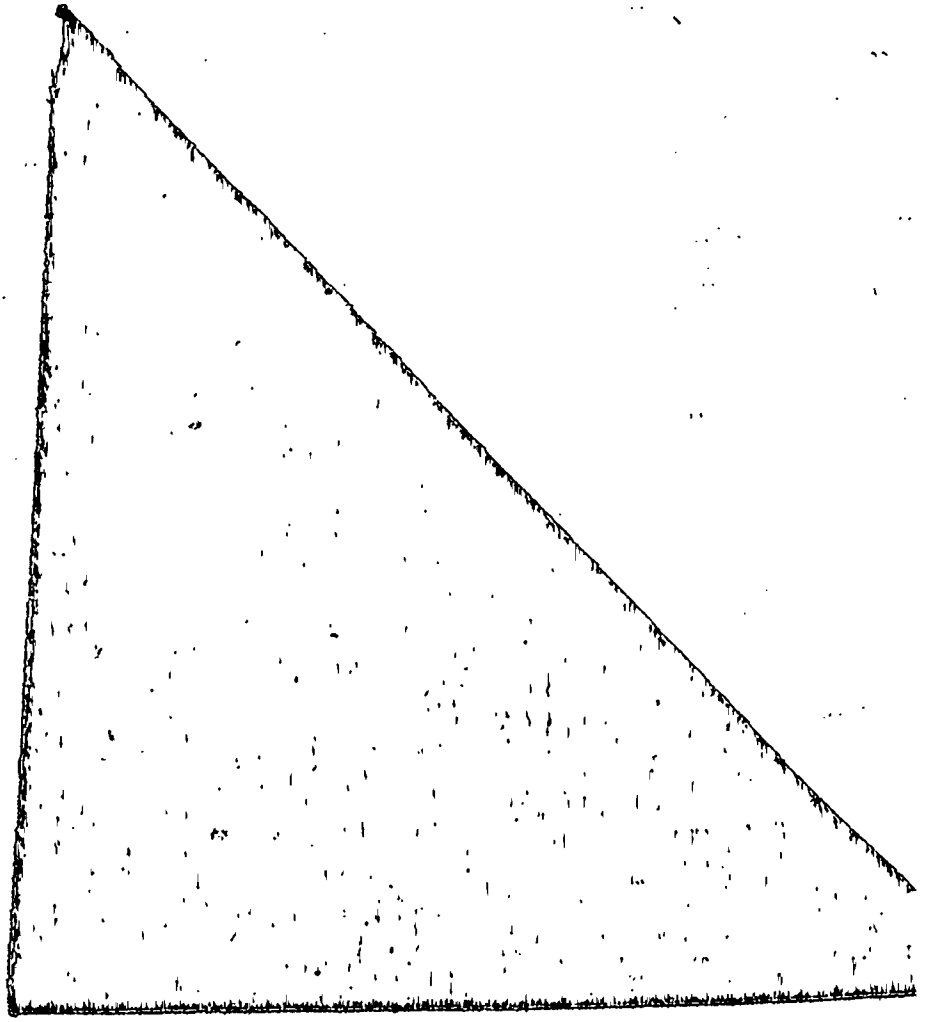

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